

## The Morale Of The Red Army

— See page 4 —

# THE MILITANT

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267

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## Raise Wages To Meet Rise In Living Costs!

— An Editorial —

Just as Wilson did in 1917, Roosevelt is now opening a campaign against wage raises by going through the motions of obtaining price control.

Roosevelt's answer to the growing demand for wage raises to meet the rising cost of living is a bill introduced in Congress to give the administration the power to set price ceilings.

Roosevelt, however, revealed his main objective when, in his message to Congress, he said: "Labor has far more to gain from price stability than from abnormal wage increases." Even before his price "control" begins to operate he wants the workers to give up their demand for wage increases.

In return for his empty promise of price control, he wants the workers to abandon the struggle for the higher wages they need to meet the price rises that have already occurred.

Labor has no reason to believe that the government will really prevent a rise in the cost of living. All the signs point to the fact that the workers will be faced with a steady decline in living standards as the war progresses, in spite of governmental "price fixing."

In the last war the government also got the price-fixing powers requested in Roosevelt's bill. Nevertheless, prices during Wilson's war administration jumped nearly 140 percent.

The fact is that a government run for the benefit of the capitalists will not and cannot curb prices, for that means curbing the profits of the capitalists who really run the government.

Both from the experiences of World War I, and from the very nature of capitalism ("free enterprise"), it is clear that Roosevelt's bill will not materially affect the rise in prices.

Roosevelt may use troops against strikers but he certainly is not going to use them against the capitalists, who will oppose any limitation on their opportunity for war profiteering.

Maybe many workers will not believe this, maybe they still have faith in Roosevelt and think that he will really try to stabilize prices and succeed at it.

But even workers who feel this way will be making a great mistake if they place all their reliance on Roosevelt's bill to solve the problem that means food and clothing for their children.

For under Roosevelt's bill, control of prices will not be in the hands of the workers who are most affected by disastrous price rises. Control of prices will be in the hands of the dollar-a-year men, the friends of "free enterprise."

Workers who try to organize a union have learned better than to place all their hopes in the activities of a government labor relations board. They know that in addition to labor board votes, and far more decisive, organization and action on the job are necessary.

In the same way it would be incorrect for workers to sit back and await the outcome of Roosevelt's bill.

What is required in this case is the independent action of the workers to meet the rising cost of living. Regardless of what Roosevelt says he will do, the workers must begin at once to take those steps they can take to prevent a decline in their living standards.

When prices go up, wages must go up. This is the workers' answer to rising prices.

No machinery yet exists that will guarantee price control in the interests of the workers. But already the workers have the instruments for securing wages that will at least neutralize the price rises that are sure to come.

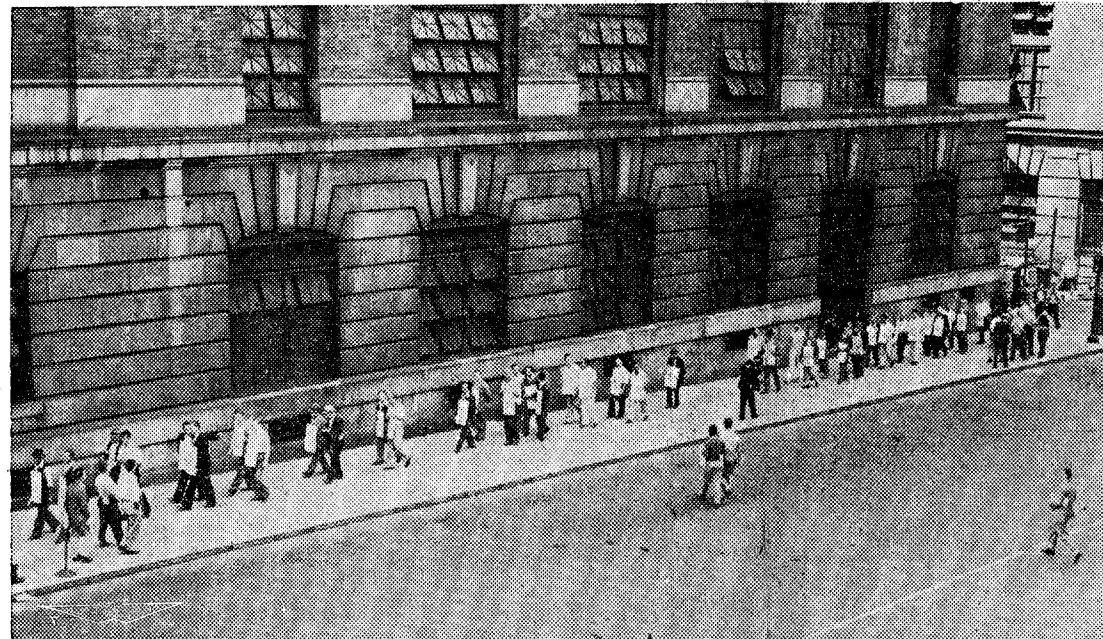
Those instruments are the trade unions, the same organs for workers' struggle for better conditions that make possible wage increases in "peacetime."

For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living! This slogan must be taken up by every trade union, and provisions to put it into effect must be written into every union contract.

Only in this way, through the automatic adjustment of wage scales to the rise in the cost of living, can the workers be sure that, regardless of what happens to government promises, they will avoid a repetition of World War I experiences when promises were given about price control, but only wages were frozen.

**NEXT WEEK'S ISSUE**  
is the  
**TROTSKY MEMORIAL ISSUE**  
Nov. 7, 1879—Aug. 21, 1940  
*The Story of His Heroic Life*  
In Articles and Pictures

## Electrical Workers Still On Strike



One of the many mass picket lines thrown around Consolidated Edison's New York power plants this week by Local 3 of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL). As usual, Sidney Hillman is attempting to break this strike which is aimed at a union contract.

## Local 544-CIO Is Denied Election In One Industry

MINNEAPOLIS, August 5—The unholy alliance of government, bosses and AFL will go to any lengths to prevent the Minneapolis truck-drivers from democratically establishing which union they want to belong to. That became clear Saturday, when Alfred P. Blair, head of the State Labor Board, brazenly refused to grant the request of Local 544-CIO that a secret, government-supervised election be held to determine which union the 300 furniture drivers and helpers of this city want to represent them.

The CIO petition covering the furniture industry was the first on which the State Labor Board ruled, but the CIO has presented petitions covering all other drivers and allied workers in the city. The AFL is opposed to any elections, knowing that any balloting will demonstrate that the drivers stand with Local 544-CIO, which has been the union of the drivers since it organized them in 1934. On June 13 the membership of Local 544 voted to disaffiliate from the AFL and join the CIO. Tobin, AFL teamsters chief, has sent hundreds of hoodlums in here to smash the union.

The State Labor Board refused 544-CIO's proposal for an election on the pretext that the union was "guilty of an unfair labor practice" in having called the furniture workers out on strike June 18 without having filed a strike notice and observed the "cooling off" period required under the notorious "Slave Labor Law" of Republican Governor Stassen.

The State Labor Board justified this preposterous ruling on the ground that the strike notice filed on June 1 by Local 544 was invalid because in the "cooling off" period between then and the strike, Local 544 had disaffiliated from the AFL and joined the CIO!

Frank Barnhart, regional director of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) to which Local 544 is now affiliated, exposed the state board's fakery.

"Such a decision by the state conciliator is an open invitation to the AFL to continue its terrorist tactics against the employees of the industry," said Barnhart.

The State Labor Board now must rule on the petitions covering the rest of the 6,000 workers in the industry. In the

rest of the cases it does not even have the flimsy pretext of the strike among the furniture workers. But it is clear that Governor Stassen's Republican state machine, supplementing Tobin's hoodlums and Roosevelt's FBI and the Department of Justice, will move heaven and earth to prevent the truck drivers from voting for the union of their choice.

On Monday, August 11, the 29 Socialist Workers Party, Local 544-CIO and other defendants, indicted on July 15 on "seditious conspiracy" charges at the instigation of Roosevelt's Department of Justice, will be arraigned in the federal court here.

In return for their aid to Tobin, the bosses are now demanding their pound of flesh. They will discuss contracts with Tobin's paper "union" here — but only on condition that Tobin helps them to impose wages and working conditions far lower than those which have been established here since 1934 by Local 544.

"Last week's issue of the 'AFL Teamster,' Tobin's organ here, complains that the bosses now demand wage scales for Minneapolis as low as those in neighboring St. Paul. 'For years,' complains the AFL sheet, 'it has been an open fact that Minneapolis has

always enjoyed an advantage over St. Paul in the matter of wages, hour and conditions."

That's true. And the reason why Minneapolis has better wage scales for truckers is because of Local 544-CIO, whereas St. Paul drivers are in the hands of Tobin's henchmen.

## Hillman, Lewis In Auto Union Clash

Hillman's Pro-War Machine Starts Fight In Auto Convention; Fundamental Issues Remain Unclear As Lewis Group Vacillates

BUFFALO, August 5—The long smoldering struggle between the Reuther-Hillman and the Addes-Lewis forces in the United Automobile Workers (CIO) convention flared into the open today as a preliminary test of strength between the groups on the question of seating ten delegates from Allis-Chalmers Local No. 248 resulted in a victory for the Reuther-Thomas-Frankensteen forces.

The Addes group, which supported the Allis-Chalmers delegation, was defeated by a vote of approximately 1200 to 1700, after R. Leonard and Reuther delivered vicious red-baiting speeches.

George Addes, secretary treasurer of the UAW, spoke openly for the first time against the Hillman-Reuther group. He attacked the reactionary maneuvers of the Reuther group and demanded the seating of the Allis delegates as a reply to the capitalist press which has conducted a barrage of red-baiting against the Milwaukee local that waged a 79 day strike against the opposition of Knudsen and Knox.

However, although this preliminary skirmish has taken place, the basic problems facing the UAW-CIO and the labor movement generally have not been clearly and precisely brought before the delegates.

### THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE

It is increasingly evident to the militant delegates, who have followed the forces at work in the CIO since the beginning of Roosevelt's all-out war campaign, that the burning question is whether the UAW-CIO is to remain a union free of all interference and control by the government, or to become a union controlled and hog-tied by the government, shackled to the OPM, the Mediation Board, and the dollar-a-year men of the Roosevelt-Wall Street war machine.

The tendency of the John L. Lewis group in the CIO has been to resist government interference and government strikebreaking, and to oppose the subservient

Roosevelt-stooching of Hillman.

But Addes and his supporters in the UAW have thus far in the auto convention failed to rally the militant spirit of the auto delegates around a fighting program. The Addes group has reflected the Lewis struggle against Hillman only as a pale shadow.

### WHY ADDES' SILENCE?

The only reason for the defeat of the militant elements on the question of the seating of the Allis-Chalmers delegates is that the meek and hesitant Addes leadership has failed to rally the delegates around a clear program. For months previous to this convention, a seething struggle has been going on between the two groups on the International Executive Board. There have been plenty of differences of opinion within these meetings, but not once has the Addes group come out into the open on any major issue and challenged the strike-breaking, pro-war policy of the Reuther crowd.

In order to maintain the fiction of unity the International Executive Board has published all its decisions as being unanimous. When the board whitewashed Richard Frankensteen's notorious strikebreaking tactics on the West Coast, the vote was announced as unanimous. In reality, it is known that the board backed Frankensteen only by the slim margin of ten to nine. Why didn't the Addes group dare to announce its real vote, carry the fight to the rank and file, educate the militant membership on the issues at stake? That is the question now in the minds and on the lips of many a militant delegate to this convention.

### REUTHER GROUP ORGANIZED

The failure of Addes to bring such issues to the membership has spelled defeat for the militants in the first test of strength. At least two hundred delegates who voted with Reuther today to unseat the Allis delegation are wavering elements who know little about the real issues. They

followed Reuther in this test vote only because they knew little about the program of the Addes group, and had been fed a mountain of propaganda by the Thomas-Reuther group, which has been conducting an open offensive for several months.

The Reuther group has already held two full national caucuses since the beginning of this convention Monday.

Many militant delegates now realize that the failure to lay down a basic program, has cost the progressive forces the Allis-Chalmers delegation. They have been pressing Addes and other International Board members for a caucus. This caucus was finally held tonight.

In this caucus meeting the Addes forces again showed their hesitancy to give the militant elements a lead. Addes did not appear. The only basic proposals came from rank and file delegates. More than one gave fighting speeches, calling the Addes leadership to task for not providing a program. One delegate clearly put the question:

"Is this going to be a Hillman-controlled union, a union controlled by the dollar-a-year men in Washington, or is it going to be a fighting independent force to protect labor?"

MILITANTS STILL LEADERLESS

But all this militancy is as yet without firm leadership.

Under pressure from these militant delegates, the Addes group has scheduled another national caucus of its supporters.

Should the militant men who have fought so many victorious battles on the picket line have their way at this caucus, there will yet be a basic and fundamental struggle against the Hillman-Reuther program at this auto convention. Should the Addes caucus take the offensive, on the basis of independent unionism and a firm anti-war and anti-government strike-breaking stand, there is no doubt but that it can still win over a majority of the delegates of the convention.

As the convention convened, it was announced in the press that John L. Lewis would speak. The fact that he has since announced that he cannot attend this con-

(Continued on page 3)

## Cannon-for-Mayor Petition Drive Gaining Speed

### Workers Are Signing To Place Trotskyist Party On Ballot

It was a blistering hot day in New York last week when members of the Socialist Workers Party marched out of headquarters with long unsigned nominating petitions in their hands. The petitions were new and stiff and across the top of them, in bold type, were the words, "TROTSKYIST ANTI-WAR PARTY" and "JAMES P. CANNON FOR MAYOR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK."

These anti-war militants headed for the crowded working-class sections of the city.

At the top of the nominating petition is a picture of a world in chains. The workers understand chains. They put their sig-

natures to the fresh paper. They write haltingly, but with great concentration and determination.

An old man, a Pole, approaches. He is curious about the paper his friends are signing. Yes, he is a citizen. Yes, he voted in the last election. Cannon? He never heard of Cannon, but if he's against the war and the people that make wars — then he's a good man. The old Pole has lots of relatives in Europe and most of them are in concentration camps. War put them in concentration camps. He doesn't want that to happen here in America. And so he signs.

"I have three brothers in the army," a young Negro says, looking at the petition. "They're good enough to march and fight, but when it comes time to eat they're not good enough to eat with the white soldiers. And during rest-

time they can't even talk to a white soldier. Can't be any war for democracy if there isn't any democracy in the first place. I'll sign your paper."

Not all Negroes are friendly. They have been fooled too often by people who said they were against Jim Crowism but only until after election day. But the Trotskyists have a long record against Jim Crowism. Old pamphlets are produced for a rapidly growing crowd to see. "Negroes March on Washington," "The Negro and the Army," "Defend the Negro Sailors on the U. S. S. Philadelphia."

"Mr. Trotsky was always against Jim Crow?" one of them asks.

Now they sign rapidly, one after another. Almost a hundred signatures in an hour's time.

How do I know you aren't the Communist Party?" one man demands.

We are against the imperialist war — the C. P. is for it.

"Yeah? How do I know it isn't another one of their phoney organizations? First they're for the war, then they're against it, then they're for it. I can't keep up with 'em. I'm not signing anything. I don't trust Communists."

He must be visited again. He deserves a full explanation.

In a shopping center we get signatures by standing on the sidewalk and shouting our slogans.

People turn their heads to listen. A well-dressed woman rushes up, her face contorted with anger.

"Aren't you ashamed of yourself?" she shouts. "Don't you want to defend your country? Don't you have any patriotism?"

Before she can be answered another woman appears out of the gathering crowd. She is motherly. Her eyes also flash with anger, but not at the young man collecting signatures.

"Why are you yelling at this young man?" she demands of the well-dressed woman. "He's doing a wonderful thing. He's for letting the people vote on war. That's more than Mr. Roosevelt will do."

"He's disloyal to his country," screams the woman with the pretty clothes. "If he were my son I would have drowned him long ago."

The motherly woman replies softly. "I'd be proud to have him for my son," she says.

In Union Square, Stalinists yell: "Fascists! Provocateurs! Agents of Hitler!" Their cries attract a crowd. Others in the crowd

### Anti-War Program Proves Popular With New Yorkers

are willing to discuss, and having discussed to sign. The Stalinists are our press agents. They attract crowds by their slander. They gain for us many signatures.

It is late and slowly the comrades trudge back to the headquarters. It has been hard work but it has been important work. Important and exciting and, above all, successful. Tomorrow they will go out again — and the next day, and the next.

It is obvious by now that more than enough signatures will be gathered to place the "TROTSKYIST ANTI-WAR PARTY" on the ballot. James P. Cannon, indicted by the war-mongers for "sedition," is accepted by workers as their candidate for Mayor.



On The War Fronts

# Red Army Blasts Myth of Hitler Strength

## Soviet Resistance Gives Impetus To Struggles Of Conquered Peoples

By GEORGE STERN

Germany's blitzkrieg invasion of the Soviet Union, now in its seventh week, has slowed to bare walking pace. In titanic battles on the central portion of the 1,800 mile front around Smolensk, the Red Army has held the Nazis for nearly three weeks. Unable to dent Soviet defenses there, the Germans have apparently transferred their central pressure to the Ukrainian front, toward Kiev and it is here that the next major battles are apparently about to unfold.

The Red Army stand against Hitler's legions has come as a revelation to the rest of the world. Churchill and Roosevelt have greeted it as "magnificent" and the press gives surprised recognition to the fact that the Red Army has exploded the myth of Nazi invincibility.

This explosion has been felt in the widest reaches of the insecure Nazi European empire. In Norway, in Holland, in Yugoslavia, and even in France it has given fresh impetus to the continuing struggles of the conquered peoples. The very prospect of a Nazi bog-down on the Russian steppes has released hopes that a turn in the tide of war has already come.

So far the Red Army has made its stand quite alone. The stepped-up British air offensive in Germany has been supplemented only by minor operations off Northern Finland, where a possible British invasion is being rumored. In Washington, an arrangement has just been announced under which material aid is to be extended by this country.

### CLASH MAY NOW COME WITH JAPAN

Since the transpacific route via Vladivostok is the only practicable one for these supplies to take, this issue is likely in the near future to bring Japanese-American tension to a head. The Japanese imperialists, being pushed against the wall of isolation, will have to decide whether they can, in their own interest, allow American shipments of military supplies to the USSR pass unhindered through Japanese-controlled seas.

In Washington it has already been indicated that any Japanese attempt at interference will be met by any necessary means. The actual test of this issue may touch off war in the Pacific.

For the moment, Japan's stress is still southward, despite multiplying reports of Japanese troop concentrations in Manchukuo along the Siberian frontier. The U.S. economic sanctions of last week did not prevent the Japanese from proceeding with their unopposed occupation of Indochina. Washington consequently followed up by imposing an embargo on aviation gasoline. The Japanese appear to be opening up pressure on Thailand (Siam) with a view to getting into position for eventual operations against the British in Malaya.

### THE SITUATION OF JAPAN IS DESPERATE

But the development of events will not allow the Japanese to concern themselves only with a drive southward. U.S. shipments to the Soviet Union will once again bring Japanese relations with the Axis into review and will force a crucial decision in Tokyo. Any move beyond Indochina and possibly beyond Thailand will bring Japan into a clash with the Anglo-American bloc and the developments to the north may bring it simultaneously into conflict with the Soviet Union.

For Japan, its forces already strained and stretched wide on Chinese battlefields, the prospect is grim indeed. And this accounts in no small measure for the stronger attitude now being taken in Washington. From Washington's point of view, the Red Army stand against Hitler has provided an interval in which it may prove possible to deal with the Japanese. During the next month the Battle of Asia in World War II may open.

### German Prisoners in Soviet Hands



German soldiers taken prisoners by the Red Army, receive water from a Red nurse before being sent to the rear.

# 'Anti-Alien' Smith Act Unmasked as Anti-Labor

The Smith Act, the main section of the law under which the CIO and Socialist Workers Party militants have been indicted in Minnesota, passed Congress in 1939 as an alien measure. In reality, as the St. Paul indictment now shows, the main purpose of the Smith Act is against the labor movement.

Almost any bill labeled anti-alien could probably have passed Congress the summer of 1940 when the Smith bill was adopted. As Representative Thomas Ford of California said on the floor of the House then:

"The mood of this House is such that if you brought in the Ten Commandments and asked for their repeal, and attached to that request an alien law, you would get it."

### NAVY DRAFTED IT

In the debate on the Smith bill the administration supporters attempted to say as little as possible about the section of the bill which, in effect, labeled anti-war literature as seditious. But when forced by opponents, Representative Howard (poll-tax) Smith, sponsor of the bill, said frankly:

"That section (sedition) was drafted and sent down by the Navy Department, and I included it in this bill. It was their earnest request that it be adopted."

An so the truth was out. The Smith bill was aimed at citizens who opposed the war; the key section of the Smith bill was drafted by the administration.

"The proponents of this bill," said Representative Celler of New York, "are the spiritual descendants of the Salem witch burners... of the Ku Klux Klan. They are the Moseleys, the Fritz Kuhns and the Pelleys. They and their kind want to Americanize everybody but themselves... This pattern is of Fascist design."

Rep. Geyer of California said: "Hitler rose to power on just this type of laws."

### COFFEE DENOUNCED BILL

Rep. Coffee of Washington said: "On page 19, section 4, line 3, will be found this tricky little phrase: 'it shall be unlawful for any person to attempt to commit, or to conspire to commit, any of the acts prohibited by any provision of this title.' Under the broad provisions of these words what chance would an accused have to prove his innocence because the phrases 'attempt to commit' or 'conspire to commit' give

such broad latitude that no limits can be conjured."

"In this bill... we find on page 27 a section which I quote, '... membership in any of the classes... enumerated in section 1 of this act, at any time, no matter of how short duration or how far in the past, irrespective of its termination or of how it may have ceased, shall require deportation.' Words fall me in attempting to properly describe this action. It has no parallel in law. It is sui generis. It stands by itself. Under its provision I am aghast at the possibilities."

Representative Marcantonio of New York said:

"If there was a strike and the national guard was called out to break it... it would be seditious, under this bill, for the strikers to pass out leaflets to the guards stating their side of the case."

### BUT FDR WANTED IT

But these few voices could not shout down the fear and prejudice.

### Trotsky's Last Work

MANIFESTO OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL on the IMPERIALIST WAR and the PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

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that Roosevelt had loosed. Ten minutes each was allotted to the opponents of the bill, and when they had finished, Representative Smith got to his feet and said, quite simply:

"This bill does not do anything to aliens (and radicals) that ought not to be done to them."

And so now we have a modern version of the war-time alien and sedition acts of 1812 and 1917. The new act will be used for the same purpose as the old ones.

The alien has always been the whipping boy -- and no doubt he'll receive plenty of blows. But Franklin Doubiecross Roosevelt doesn't really care whether you were born in France or America. What he wants to know is whether or not you are ready to stop a few bullets with your chest in Dakar. That is his final test of Americanism.

# Draftee Says Officers Ordered To Be Tough

The point I made in a previous communication that the "soft" officers would soon become hard has come true. The big squeeze is being put on them by their superiors and they are beginning to toe the mark.

There is no real spirit of friendship between the officers and the men. The military bureaucrats rule, not through respect, but fear. There has not been one lecture to my knowledge in our camp on the issues of the war, that we are supposedly fighting for "democracy."

The military bureaucrats keep the men in line by fear of all kinds of punishment. You are not taught that cleanliness is necessary for the good health of the soldiers. You keep clean because you'll get extra dues if you don't. Kitchen police, confinement to quarters, week-ends taken away, special details, etc. No real tests are given on ratings of corporal or sergeants. It's whom you know and the amount of bootlicking you do.

A very important incident took place last week. A corporal from our camp was killed by a Negro

# CIO News Says Army Taught to Break Strikes

Training for strikebreaking duty has become a routine part of the "military" training being given soldiers in the army camps throughout the country, the CIO News reports.

The July 28, CIO News, begins its report with the recent incident at Camp Edwards, Massachusetts, when several trainees were injured in a skirmish between several hundred troops representing a strikebreaking force and 100 other soldiers supposed to be "rioting strikers" at a "mine shaft."

Similar training is being given at an encampment of 20,000 draftees at Coleman, Texas. According to the News, one entire division has been receiving two months intensive training in strikebreaking duty, including jujitsu and other methods of dealing with union pickets.

"The course is also reported to include propaganda to supply moral justification for possible use of the troops against American strikers," states the NEWS.

Other instances of this type of training which the CIO reports are as follows:

Camp Stewart, Georgia—large-scale anti-labor maneuvers.

Fort Hancock, New Jersey—machine gun practice against "strikers."

Fort Meade, Maryland—intensive training in "riot" duty.

Ford Ord, California—strike training.

Fort Bragg, North Carolina—use of bayonets to break strikes.

Camp McClellan, Alabama—lectures on "domestic disturbances."

The News also reprints the following press release issued by the Army July 2 at Camp Stewart:

"Camp Stewart's first troops to handle a 'strike' situation today were prepared for action. 'The 101st Separate Battalion was set to move out early tomorrow morning to put down a sham strike at a theoretical aluminum company, supposedly employing 700 men."

"In the maneuver and field problem, first of its kind to be staged at Camp Stewart, the 101st troops will act out the parts of workers, strikers and soldiers in complete detail. Picket lines, clubs, placards and soap-box speeches will be part of the show."

# War Chest Drive Nearing Goal; Now 83% Filled

Last week the \$10,000 War Chest stood at 76 per cent of completion. This week it has risen to 83 per cent.

Eleven branches now are over the 100 per cent mark and another eleven at the mark, making 22 branches that have fulfilled or more than fulfilled their quota.

Buffalo increased its lead by 3 per cent, climbing to 167 per cent. That's the record of the youngest branch in the party!

Akron, Boston, Flint, St. Paul and Allentown went over the top this week, with Chicago having \$10 to its credit over the 100 per cent mark. Pittsburgh also joined the 100 percenters.

All these advances mean that completion of the War Chest by August 21st, the day commemorating the death of Leon Trotsky, is well-nigh assured.

### Contributions This Week

Branch	Amount
Minneapolis	\$110.64
New York	107.25
Chicago	84.00
Los Angeles	69.00
St. Paul	68.80
San Francisco	66.00
Boston	48.75
Flint	33.00
Pittsburgh	10.00
Milwaukee	10.00
Akron	10.00
Allentown	7.50
New Haven	5.00
Buffalo	1.50
TOTAL	\$631.44

# \$10,000 War Chest SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Amt. Pd.	%
BUFFALO	\$ 60.00	\$ 100.00	167
READING	25.00	38.30	153
CLEVELAND	150.00	186.50	124
BALTIMORE	10.00	12.00	120
AKRON	50.00	60.00	120
ST. PAUL	300.00	325.80	108
ALLENTOWN	25.00	27.00	108
YOUNGSTOWN	150.00	160.00	107
SEATTLE	25.00	26.00	104
FLINT	200.00	207.00	103
Boston	350.00	353.75	101
San Diego	100.00	100.00	100
Portland	30.00	30.00	100
St. Louis	25.00	25.00	100
Quakertown	25.00	25.00	100
Toledo	10.00	10.00	100
Detroit	500.00	500.00	100
Louisiana	25.00	25.00	100
Newark	500.00	500.25	100
Philadelphia	125.00	125.00	100
Chicago	1200.00	1210.12	100
Pittsburgh	40.00	40.00	100
Rochester	50.00	46.25	93
New Haven	50.00	42.00	84
Milwaukee	55.00	46.00	84
San Francisco Bay Area	1100.00	883.83	80
New York City	2500.00	1726.28	69
Los Angeles	500.00	345.00	69
Texas	20.00	10.00	50
South Chicago	125.00	55.00	44
Minneapolis	1200.00	516.54	43
Fresno	30.00	0.00	00
Members-at-Large	475.00	511.30	108
TOTALS	\$10,000.00	\$8268.92	83%



### SUBS, PLEASE! LET'S SEE THEM ROLL IN

Los Angeles, after looking over its subscription list, reacted in a manner we wish would become universal. "We were disappointed," they write, "not to find more names on the list. It suggests that a little more attention to the subscription phase of our work here would be in order."

Quakertown sends in a subscription with the following explanation: "The subscriber is a colored worker to whom I sent the paper by mail for a few months. Then I went to see him and he gave me a sub."

A subscriber in Denver comes through with a joint subscription renewal and says: "I am enclosing \$3 for my over-time neglected payment on two most interesting papers. Sorry I'm not sending in many subscriptions."

We suspect our members of being a little shy when it comes to asking workers for subs. Those who make a constant practice of trying to establish permanent connection with their worker-contacts by broaching the subject of subscriptions report that the securing of subs is simple.

Our greatest difficulty seems to be in developing in the minds of our members a permanent consciousness of the importance of subscriptions to our publications.

Subscriptions are the natural follow-through on your sales. Repeated circulations of the paper which are not followed up by subscriptions have failed to realize one of their most important aims.

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# Trotsky Memorial Meeting

to commemorate the death of Comrade LEON TROTSKY, August 21, 1940

FRIDAY, AUGUST 22, 8:30 P. M. -- Manhattan Plaza, 66 E. 4th St., N. Y. (air-conditioned hall)

Speaker: **JAMES P. CANNON** National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party

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# At The Auto Convention

## Militant Note Struck at the Very Outset

By ART PREIS

BUFFALO, August 4 — A muffled roll of drums sounded from behind the closed doors at the rear of the mammoth auditorium.

Everyone of the thousand auto worker delegates seated at the dozen rows of tables, stretching hundreds of feet along the length of the auditorium, turned his head away from the speakers platform.

The formal opening this morning of the Sixth Annual Convention of the United Automobile Workers Union (CIO) had already taken place. But for the workers from all the automobile and aircraft centers of the country the real opening of the convention was just about to start.

"Here comes the Ford Local 600 band!"

The thousand delegates stood on the tables and chairs, roared, stamped and cheered a titanic welcome to the Ford union local.

It was the tribute of fighting union men and women to the living symbol of their mighty victories of the past year, the victories which have smashed through the greatest bulwarks of the open-shop and industrial oppression and have made the UAW-CIO the most dynamic union in the American labor movement today.

These are no hand-picked delegates, no belated business agents of the reactionary AFL craft-union vintage. These are the men and women from the ranks, the leaders of the picket lines, the shop stewards, the workers on the job who have won the greatest confidence and respect of their fellow members.

There is an electric atmosphere

of vitality, of confidence, of boldness, emanating from the assembled delegates.

### THE UNION'S DEFENSE GUARDS

Symbolic of the character of this union, as reflected in this convention, are the hundreds of delegates wearing their brightly colored service caps — the caps of the flying squadrons, the UAW local union defense guards.

One white and purple silk banner is lettered in gold: "Local 581, Flint, Mich., Fisher No. 1, The Flying Wedge." Another, lettered gold on a green background, says: "The Flying Squadron, Chrysler Local 7, Detroit." On numerous service caps and on the uniform shirts of delegates is proclaimed their function: "The Flying Squadron."

The accomplishments of these Flying Squadrons and their union brothers are recorded in the reports of R. J. Thomas, UAW president, and George Adde, secretary-treasurer.

### UNION'S GREAT GAINS

The paid-up membership of the UAW-CIO is today 526,413, an increase of 93 per cent over the membership reported at the last convention. This makes the UAW the third largest international union in the country.

The union has contracts covering 982 plants, protecting a total of 703,760 workers. At the previous convention last year in St. Louis the union had 494 contracts covering 398,000 workers.

During the past year, through the strike struggles in Ford, General Motors, Allis-Chalmers and scores of lesser plants and corporations, the UAW has secured a general average 10 cents an hour wage increase in the automobile industry.

### AIRCRAFT IS NEXT

The militant strike struggles at Vultee and North American Aviation have opened the way for an organizational drive in the mushrooming aircraft industry which has already added 50,000 members

to the ranks of the UAW. It is clear from the vigorous response of the delegates to every mention of the aircraft organization drive, that one of the key ambitions of the UAW members is to carry through a drive on the scale of the Ford campaign to bring the 500,000 aircraft workers into the UAW in the next year, and thus realize the slogan of this convention — to make the UAW-CIO the largest and most powerful international union in America.

The initial proceedings of the convention today clearly revealed the moods and feelings of the auto workers.

The kind of language they respond to is fighting language. Every note of militancy struck by any speaker was the occasion for loud applause and cheers.

Those speakers who sensed this, and responded in the fashion which the delegates demanded, were greeted with the loudest applause.

### THOMAS TAUNTS WARMONGERS

The desire of the delegates for militant expression affected the talks of the various union officers who spoke. It forced R. J. Thomas, when he gave his opening address this afternoon, to strike a much stronger note than was expected of him.

Perhaps the most significant response to any portion of Thomas's speech was when he dealt with the war question.

After declaring that he was for material aid to Great Britain — a statement which received scarcely any response — Thomas stated:

"I was called a war-monger by certain people (the Stalinists) a few months ago when I advocated material aid to Britain.

"Today we can hear these same people wanting to go much farther than I want to go today. I predict that these same people will be advocating we go to war.

"I still say we should keep ourselves on record as against

any foreign adventure."

This last remark brought forth an instantaneous and tremendous volume of applause, and indicated that there is potentially no more powerful an anti-war force in this country today than the auto workers.

### UNION DEMOCRACY JEALOUSLY GUARDED

The delegates are quick to resent and loudly oppose anything that smacks of high-handed or arbitrary decisions from the chair, and jealously guard every democratic right.

The minority of the Credentials Committee reported that an attempt was being made to refuse seating to the large delegation from the militant Allis-Chalmers local, whose 8,000 members recently won a bitter 79 day strike. The report charged that the seating of these delegates was being held up on the technicality that the local, in violation of a clause in the constitution, had nominated and elected delegates at the same meeting. The minority of the committee put in a motion to seat the Allis-Chalmers delegation immediately.

The minority motion was greeted with a tremendous volume of applause and stamping of feet. When Ed Hall, a former board member, took the floor and condemned any attempt to deprive the Allis-Chalmers workers of representation, and charged that this would be an act greeted most warmly by the open-shoppers throughout the country, he nearly brought the house down.

The storm was quieted finally by the explanation that the committee majority had not acted against seating the Allis-Chalmers delegation — although it had been the decision of a caucus of the auto workers.

One of the brightest spots in the convention thus far was the parade of the Women's Auxiliaries in the convention hall this morning. As they marched down the aisle, all the delegates rose and cheered them and then broke into the stirring tune of "Solidarity Forever." The banner which headed the parade proudly announced that the membership of the UAW Women's Auxiliary has increased 345 per cent in the past year. No other union has been able to draw the wives and mothers of the workers into the union struggles so well as the UAW. The militancy of the women on the UAW picket lines is traditional.

Whatever decisions are made — and some of them may be poor and misguided — one thing is certain: The whole character, tradition and composition of the UAW-CIO will not tolerate for long policies which will lead to the destruction of union democracy and militancy. Time and again efforts have been made to enforce such policies on the auto union — Francis Dillon and Homer Martin tried it — but these attempts have failed. Each time the auto workers have speared forth these poisonous reactionary elements. And each time the UAW has made new giant strides forward.

prevent any stalling of the seating of the Allis-Chalmers representatives.

### FRANKENSTEEN BOOED

The maker of the motion to refer the decision to the next morning was Richard Frankenstein, the international board member who supported the use of troops against the North American Aviation workers.

No sooner had he approached the microphone to speak than he was met by a chorus of boos from all sections of the hall. Thomas in his published report had denied that Frankenstein had condoned the use of troops, but this has not convinced a large section of the delegates. And many of those who do accept the explanation on this point, are still bitter about Frankenstein's arbitrary action in suspending the officers of the North American local. The lesson of Homer Martin's union-disrupting tactics has sunk deep.

### NEGRO DELEGATES ACTIVE

Once more, at this convention, is shown the freedom from racial prejudice that has marked the policies of the UAW and the CIO. Almost every large delegation at the convention includes Negro delegates, who participate fully and freely in all the convention activities.

It was especially gratifying to see the many Negro workers in the Ford delegation and in the Ford Local 600 band. One of the most vicious features of Ford's anti-labor policies was his attempt to split the workers by playing Negro and white workers against each other.

### MANY WOMEN PRESENT

Women workers are playing an important role in this convention, reflecting the vital part they are playing in the whole organizational life and struggles of the auto workers.

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One has only to sit for a brief time among these delegates, to observe their seriousness, their stern sense of responsibility, their boundless militancy and confidence, their innate love of freedom of expression, their hatred of bureaucracy to be convinced that here is a union capable of confronting all the hosts of reaction and ending the struggle victoriously.

# Tobin Hints He May Purge New York, Chicago Locals

## His Editorial Attack On New York and Chicago Teamsters Is Like Attack He Made on Local 544 of Minneapolis in May "Journal"

Three more big teamsters union locals—Locals 807 and 584 of New York and Local 705 of Chicago—are the next on the "purge" list of AFL Teamsters International President Daniel J. Tobin, it is clear from the July, 1941 issue of Tobin's personal organ, the "Teamsters Journal."

These three locals are named in that issue in an editorial by Tobin in terms much like those which Tobin used against the Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 in the May, 1941 issue of the same "Journal." That editorial attack was followed by Tobin's attempt to impose a dictator-receiver over Local 544, a union-disrupting move which the membership of Local 544 answered by disaffiliating from Tobin's rotten setup and accepting an invitation to be chartered by the CIO.

Local 544's affiliation to the CIO has inspired many other progressive teamsters locals to seek ways and means of getting out of Tobin's dictatorial control and to join the CIO. That is why Tobin has sent hundreds of strong-arm men into Minneapolis in a desperate attempt to crush Local 544, and why Tobin's friend Roosevelt ordered the Department of Justice to indict sixteen members of Local 544, along with Socialist Workers Party members and others—a total of 29 defendants—for "seditious conspiracy" on July 15.

### TOBIN ATTACKS SWP

Tobin's latest editorial complains that "in some of our big unions like Local 807 and 584 of New York, Local 705 of Chicago, and many others," members "have to listen in meeting after meeting to men who are full-fledged members of our unions, working on trucks or in warehouses, and at the same time are full-fledged agents of one of the above named disturbing government — and union-destroying organizations. Among the "government-destroying" organizations that Tobin names is the Socialist Workers Party. He goes on:

"The rank and file listen to them and in their innocence believe they are able men. Bear this in mind; that a member of the Socialist Workers Trotsky Party is never absent from a meeting... Before you know what you are doing you will be caught by the throat in a lock-out, a strike, or in some other form of rebellion..." To Tobin's

boss-minded way of thinking, a strike is a rebellion.

### FEARS 544'S NEWSPAPER

In another editorial in the same issue, entitled "Return Dunes' Poisonous Literature," Tobin serves notice on officers of local unions, that if they receive copies of the "Industrial Organizer," weekly organ of Local 544-CIO, "We expect you as red-blooded Americans to return to them their poisonous literature or any other such literature which you may receive." Above all, Tobin fears that the rank and file of the teamsters everywhere may hear Local 544-CIO's side of the story.

The minutes of the June 8th Teamsters' International General Executive Board, published in the same issue, indicate that Tobin's assault on Local 544-CIO, and his contemplated assaults on other locals, may be at the direct instigation of the Roosevelt administration.

After attacking the Socialist Workers Party and other organizations as "subversive," the minutes include these significant words: "Information reaching us through many sources, including our government, advises the General Executive Board to explain these dangers to our general membership... We caution and warn our membership to stamp out, wherever possible, those serpents of destruction posing as union men."

In short, Tobin is out to purge the truckdrivers of all militants, at the behest of the War Deal.

### TOBIN'S ANTI-LABOR ALLY

A report in the "Journal" from Tobin's representative in Minneapolis, T. T. Neal, boasts that "Governor Stassen of Minnesota has promised to do everything within the law to be helpful to us" — that is, against Local 544-CIO. This reactionary Republican Governor is the author of the infamous "Stassen Slave Labor Law,"

under which unions are compelled to file strike notices, wait 30 days before striking and are hampered in other ways. That's the kind of ally that Tobin finds.

The mentality of this \$30,000 a year scoundrel is sufficiently characterized by the fact that Tobin approvingly prints in his "Journal" a vicious attack on the CIO by Premier Hepburn of Ontario, Canada, who is perhaps the most rabid anti-labor official on the North American continent.

## Frankenstein OK'd Use of Troops in Aviation Strike

Richard Frankenstein and his friends are trying to tell the UAW-CIO Convention delegates that he never supported Roosevelt's use of troops against the North American Aviation strikers.

But here is what Frankenstein said then, as he is quoted in the New York HERALD TRIBUNE, June 12, early edition, in an Associated Press dispatch:

"I take this opportunity to publicly recognize the action of the United States government and Army which was taken in this situation, in the national interest. The action of the army under Col Branshaw has been completely fair. There has been no abuse of power and no violation of individual rights.

"I disapprove of use of troops in strikes which are legitimately called as a last resort. This position is shared by and practiced by the President of the United States. As Governor of New York State he never saw fit to use troops against labor. In his eight years as Chief Executive of our nation, he has never used troops against labor.

"But no honorable citizen, be he union member or not, can disapprove of the President's position in refusing to tolerate the wildcat strike precipitated by the enemies of our nation."

# Hillman, Lewis in UAW Clash

(Continued from page 1)

There will be a battle of some kind here, but conducted by the rank and file and not the leaders who have sat for the last year on the International Executive Board and who have not the stomach for it.

But the rank and file militants will not give up so easily. They are determined to give battle to Reuther, and many say openly that should Reuther be allowed to run away with this convention, he would do everything he could to reduce the UAW to a company

union stooge of the government. There will be a battle of some kind here, but conducted by the rank and file and not the leaders who have sat for the last year on the International Executive Board and who have not the stomach for it.

### STALINISTS ARE SILENT

The Stalinists at this convention are only whipping boys for Reuther, who attacks them

merely as a cover for his drive to get a bureaucratic grip on the UAW and water down its militancy. In reality, the Communist Party policy is closer to that of Reuther than to that of the Lewis group.

Both Reuther and the Communist Party are all-out defenders of Roosevelt's war drive. With the change in the "party line" the CP is now trying its best to crawl back into the camp of the Hillman-Roosevelt warmongers. Since Reuther, however, persists in kicking them around, the Stalinists lie back quietly, and wait for the wrath to blow over, so that they can make their peace with the Hillman elements.

The comparative lack of Stalinist activity at this convention is a reflection of their political about-face.

While the Stalinists will continue to maneuver for posts in typical opportunist fashion, their basic political line is now in agreement with the extreme right wing of the CIO. This will be clearly borne out by this convention, and by the coming CIO convention.

### AVIATION STRIKE ISSUE

The next test of the contending forces at this convention, and the test which will reveal the basic problems facing the CIO generally, will probably occur on the resolution concerning the North American Aviation strike, and the strikebreaking dictatorial acts of Frankenstein.

A strong condemnation of Frankenstein will be put on the floor of the convention by

the resolutions committee. This basic question will be discussed: Will the UAW tolerate government strikebreaking, and the Homer Martin type of violation of the local union's democratic rights, or will the union continue the fight for decent wage and working conditions in the face of government opposition, and wipe out the trend toward a dictatorial bureaucracy within the union?

Whether the Reuther group succeeds in sweeping this convention or not, there still is and will be a potent militant core in the UAW which will not stand by and see the union cut to pieces by the Wall street war machine with the help of their lackeys at the union head. The fighting ranks, still undefeated, and moreover inspired by the Ford victory, will meet the coming attacks by Roosevelt and his mediation board and OPM, with a firm struggle in defense of unionism.

At this convention these militants are fighting to put some backbone into the fight against Reuther. After the convention, regardless of the results, they will proceed to build the kind of fighting union, and the kind of determined leadership, that the UAW will have to have in the fight against the war and against the attacks of the employees.

# Hillmanites Attack Lewis For CIO Teamster Charter

ROCHESTER, July 29—The Rochester Industrial Union Council controlled by followers of the Sidney Hillman wing in the CIO, last night openly attacked John L. Lewis, A. D. Lewis, the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee and the CIO's granting of a charter to the Minneapolis motor transport workers who left the AFL.

It was evident from the ferocity of the attack that the Hillmanites, in addition to opposing the militant policies of the CIO, intend to conduct a campaign of full support to the Roosevelt-Tobin fight to prevent teamsters from joining the CIO.

The attack was opened by Council President John H. Cooper who called John L. Lewis' actions "dictatorial." It was carried on by the delegate from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Milton Hofferbert, who introduced the resolution claiming that the activities of John L. Lewis' brother, A.D., in seeking to organize teamsters into a CIO industrial union, "not only fail to promote the best interests of organized labor but actually tend

to operate to the detriment of labor."

The resolution specifically condemned A. D. Lewis, "and particularly his unwarranted and self-serving attempted raids on the teamsters' union," using almost the same language Tobin uses to justify the thugs he keeps in Minneapolis.

In the same resolution these stooges of Hillman could not restrain themselves from commending him and the OPM for their efforts to get a "stabilization" no-strike program adopted by the construction industry.

# Hillmanites Beginning To Work With Stalinists Again

In spite of all the harsh names that they have thrown at each other in the last two years, the Stalinists and the Hillmanites appear to be gradually getting together again. In the long run, it is the political line that counts. And the political line of the Stalinists today is the same as that of the Hillmanites: both fully support the war program of Roosevelt.

The reconciliation of the two is not yet talked about openly by either the Stalinist leaders or Hillman. At this stage of the game, it would be embarrassing for them both.

Nonetheless, the process goes steadily on.

### HILLMANITE DEFENDS STALINISTS

Two weeks ago Frederick F. Umhey, secretary-treasurer of the I.L.G.W.U., attacked the Stalinists at a pro-war rally in New York. A few days later, Murray Weinstein, manager of Cutlers Local 4 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, a faithful follower of Hillman, addressed his local and expressed disagreement with Umhey's remarks.

"Labor should stand united this time regardless of political differences," he said, meaning

that the Hillmanites will work together with anyone who supports the war.

### HILLMANITE-STALINIST GROUPS

The Daily Worker this week reported the formation of a "New York Labor Union Press Association for Defense," an organization of editors of CIO and AFL papers in New York state for the purpose of pushing support of the war program in the trade union press.

Stalinist editors of trade union papers are functioning in the organization. The president of the outfit is J. B. S. Hardman, editor of Hillman's The Advance and earnest bootlicker of Hillman, who would never function in such a committee with Stalinists without Hillman approval.

## SPECIAL THIS WEEK

Two Books of Vital Interest TODAY

### LEON TROTSKY'S

History of the Russian Revolution (3 volumes in one — \$3.00)

### LENIN'S

Imperialism: The Last Stage of Capitalism

**BOTH FOR \$2.89**

MODERN BOOKSHOP

27 University Place

New York City

### Anton Penyaska

Comrade Anton Penyaska died on Monday, August 4, in Montgomery, Pennsylvania at the age of 69 years.

He was one of the founders of the Communist Party in the United States and was for years a leading figure in the Hungarian Federation of the party, editor of *Uj Elore*, Communist Hungarian newspaper. He was among the earliest leaders of the Communist party to be expelled for Trotskyism and became a charter member of the Communist League of America, the Workers Party of the United States and the Socialist Workers Party.

The Socialist Workers Party salutes an old and loyal fighter for working class freedom.

# VOICE YOUR PROTEST OF FBI PROSECUTION OF SWP!

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and the leaders of Motor Transport and Allied Workers Union, Local 544-CIO—a total of twenty-nine defendants—have just been indicted in Minnesota on charges of "conspiracy to overthrow the Government." Not since the infamous Palmer cases following the last war has the Federal Government conducted such a persecution against members of a working class party for their opinions or trade unionists because of their activities in the labor movement.

The defendants urgently need funds to defray the heavy costs of fighting this case. DO YOUR SHARE!

### THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

"The American Civil Liberties Union went on record in opposition to the Smith Act when it was introduced in Congress and after its passage in 1940 the Union announced its intention to test the constitutionality when and if the occasion arose. Such an occasion, we believe, is at hand now, in these first cases under the law.

### THE NATION

"For the first time in peace since the Alien and Sedition Laws of John Adams a mere expression of opinion is made a federal crime. Under these provisions a man might be sent to jail for ten years because he circulated such un-American documents as the Declaration of Independence and Lincoln's Second Inaugural, for both advocate, abet, advise, or teach the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government by force... If the leaders of Local 544 can be convicted for their opinions, so can others."

### THE C.I.O.

"It is deplorable that the functions of the U.S. Department of Justice have been perverted in this reprehensible manner... The National C.I.O. will not be deterred by the indictments but will continue to carry forward with all the resources at its command the campaign to organize the Motor Transport and Allied Workers in Minneapolis and the nation."

### THE NEW REPUBLIC

"This is one of the most serious issues involving civil liberties to arise in the United States in many years... That the Minneapolis case is tremendously important goes without saying. President Roosevelt and Acting Attorney General Francis Biddle have repeatedly promised that there would be no such violations of civil liberties as stained the honor of America in the last war. For a country preparing to fight for the principles of democracy, now to violate those principles... would be unforgivable; it would be worth ten divisions to Hitler."

## SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTIONS TO

### THE CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Organized on Behalf of the Defendants in the Federal Prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party

GEORGE E. NOVACK, Secretary-Treasurer Room 809, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

I enclose \$..... for your Defense Fund.

Name .....

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Fill Out

This Coupon As Your Protest

Against

The Indictments



# Red Army Morale Astonishes Its Enemies

## But Soviet Soldiers Fight Bravely Because They Have Something Worth Defending

By GEORGE BREITMAN

On several occasions since the outbreak of the Nazi-Soviet war, the Nazi authorities have sought to explain the holding up of their war machine on the Eastern Front by the unusual way the Red Army soldiers fight back.

The New York Times of July 31 carries a story telephoned by their Berlin correspondent, C. Brooks Peters, containing the most recent of these "explanations":

"The Russians, the Germans reiterate, simply do not fight according to the European rules of war. Regardless of the hopelessness of their positions, they allow their troops to be slaughtered rather than capitulate, it is asserted. Communist education and national administration for the last twenty years, the Germans add, have killed the souls of all Russians.

"For that reason, they continue, there is no possibility of the Russian armies suffering from a collapse of morale, because all the prerequisites of such a collapse are lacking as a result of the bestializing of the individual that has occurred in Russia."

The predictions of "victory within six weeks" made by the Nazis and echoed by "informed" U. S. generals and military experts have fallen to the ground. They made their estimates

on the basis of the weaknesses wrought by the Kremlin bureaucracy through its purges and repressions, and on the slow start of the Red Army in the 1939 Finnish war, a campaign toward which the Soviet masses for the most part had been lethargic. But they completely disregarded the other side of the picture. Leon Trotsky, because he understood that whole picture, often stated that the outbreak of a capitalist war against the Soviet Union would at the very beginning bring forth the strongest defensist tendencies in the country.

### Trotsky's Prediction Now Comes True

In 1934 he wrote in "War and the Fourth International" (and he repeated this thought many times thereafter):

"Within the USSR war against imperialist intervention will undoubtedly provoke a veritable outburst of genuine fighting enthusiasm. All the contradictions and antagonisms will seem overcome or at any rate relegated to the background. The young generations of workers and peasants that emerged from the revolution will reveal on the field of battle a colossal dynamic power..."

Trotsky was able to foresee this stubborn resistance chiefly because he understood the class character of the first worker's state and as a result the determination of the workers and peasants, even under the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy, to hold on to what they have.

Of course the Red Army soldiers don't fight "according to the European rules of war." That isn't because they have a different military technique or different kinds of weapons, but because, unlike the European armies, the soldiers have something to fight for, and they know it!

The "European" armies (and this includes the United States

and all other capitalist armies as well) have a different morale because they are made up of workers and farmers who don't want imperialist wars, who know they have nothing to gain because after the war as well as before, they will be victims of the same depressions, hunger and exploitation. They know that it is not the people who will benefit from the results of the war, but their masters, the imperialists, and that the lives of the worker-soldiers are being thrown away in a cause that is not theirs.

That is why the soldiers in the "democratic" armies do not fight with any conviction. That is why they don't feel ready to sacrifice their lives. That is why their main thought is to get out of the army and go back to their homes. That is why they have no confidence in their military leaders.

That is why the French army marched off to war, even against Hitler and everything hateful that he represents, with no cheers or enthusiasm; observers noted only lethargy. That is why in America today there is so little popular support of Roosevelt's war plans. That is why the American draftees these past few weeks have been so resentful toward the presidential proposal to extend the term of their service indefinitely.

### Nazi Army Is "European" Too

It is true that up to this point in the war the Nazis have maintained a certain high discipline in their armies, which would seem to indicate a much higher morale than is present in the armies of the democratic imperialists.

This morale, however, is only skin deep, and can disappear overnight. It was fostered by Hitler's great successes, including the "peaceful" successes of 1933-1939 against the "democracies." It continues to exist because the German soldiers know what

happens to the vanquished in imperialist wars. They have suffered one Versailles Treaty already; they are desperately fighting to prevent another.

But once the series of Hitler victories is broken and the myth of Nazi invincibility exposed, and once the fear of another Versailles in the event of defeat is removed, discipline and morale in the Nazi army will fall even lower than in the armies of the "democracies." Because fundamentally the German army too fights "according to European rules of war" and is made up of men who know they are not fighting for their own interests.

The Red soldiers, on the other hand, not only have something to fight against, as do all the other armies (against a semi-slave status under Hitlerism, or a semi-slave status under another Versailles Treaty), but they also have something to fight for.

### What the Red Army Defends

The October revolution of 1917 destroyed the political power of the capitalist class, and then destroyed its economic power. The factories and industries were taken away from the bosses by the state, and the economy was nationalized. The peasants took the large estates away from the landlords and the land went to the peasants who tilled it. In spite of all the crimes and blunders of the Stalinist bureaucracy since then, the economic foundation established by the Russian Revolution still exists. It is this for which the Soviet troops are willing to give their lives rather than capitulate.

When the Red Army soldier fights the Nazi legions, he knows that he is not doing it for the benefit of a gang of bosses who will continue to exploit him after the war just as viciously as before. He knows that he is fighting for himself and his children, to preserve what he has left of the greatest revolution of all time, the nationalized economy which must exist and be extended before society can go ahead to socialism, peace and plenty.

The experiences of the last twenty years have not "killed the souls of all Russians" nor bestialized the individual. On the contrary, these experiences have shown the Russian masses the superiority of living in a workers' state, even though isolated and degenerated under Stalinism. Because they have freed themselves from the bestialization of capitalism and opened up the possibilities for a new life, they are ready against the greatest odds and with inferior military equipment, as in the civil war days following the October revolution, to fight until death to protect what they have already won.

### Red Army Fights Despite Stalinism

The Nazis see in this great defensive struggle by the Soviet masses only "dead souls" and "bestialized individuals." History however will decide differently and will record it as the beginning of the awakening of the masses of the world in World War II.

It is not that the Soviet workers live in a perfect state. No one knows better than they what is wrong with the regime whose foreign policies have done so much to alienate the sympathies of the workers of the world from the Soviet Union. No one knows better than the Soviet workers how this bureaucracy has fastened itself onto the state, sapped its energies and resources and weakened the nationalized economy.

They have seen with their own eyes the destruction of the Soviets, the emasculation of the trade unions, the elimination of workers' democracy, and the transformation of the Communist Party from a party of Bolshevism to a mere docile figurehead for the bureaucracy.

But in spite of all this, they have something to defend. They know that if imperialism defeats them, not only won't they get back the political rights and workers' democracy usurped by Stalinism, but that they will also lose the economic foundations that they still have.

### Stalinists Silent on Class Nature Of Red Army Morale

And when we consider how heroically they are fighting, we can correctly say that in their own language, spoken with the rifle and tank, the Soviet masses show a much clearer understanding of the historic processes of liberation than do the learned professors and lawyers who excel at "socialist" warmongering.

These "socialist" gentlemen find the task of herding the workers into the war in the "democracies" a far from easy one. But the Soviet masses, living on a progressive economic foundation, even though they have been robbed of their democratic rights, not only rush to the front but continue to fight when it means almost certain death.

It is only the Trotskyists who understand, explain and support the real reasons for the great defensist struggles of the Soviet workers.

The Stalinists, who are afraid to speak in class terms, do not give the real reasons because it would offend the imperialists on whom they are placing so much confidence; and because it would open the eyes of the workers in the democracies, whom the Stalinists are urging to support the imperialists in the war, to the fact that they have nothing to fight for until they too establish a workers' state.

Those "radicals"—in reality counter-revolutionists—who are indifferent to the outcome of the military struggle between the Red Army and Hitler also have nothing to say about the reasons for the Soviet workers' fighting enthusiasm, because it ill fits their pseudo-revolutionary theory that the Soviet workers should not defend the Soviet Union.

### A Program for Soviet Victory

Nevertheless, the resistance of the Soviet masses by itself cannot insure Soviet victory. For that a program is necessary.

This program must call for (1) the institution of a revolutionary policy toward Germany, and (2) the extension of workers' democracy, control and rights in all spheres of Soviet life.

Such a policy would include the open perspective of revolutionary unity of the Soviet working class with the German working class; a pledge that the Soviet Union would oppose another Versailles Treaty at the expense of Germany; propaganda for the proletarian revolution in Germany and the Socialist United States of Europe.

The morale and strength of the Soviet masses would be raised to the heights by the revival of workers' democracy—the restoration of the Soviets and democracy in the trade unions, the legalization of all pro-Soviet political parties, the release of all pro-Soviet political prisoners and their return to their rightful places in the army and industry.

If the masses are waging such a heroic struggle for a degenerated workers' state, how much more courageously will they strain all their energy and resources when they feel that political power belongs to them and not to the bureaucrats! When they feel that they have the right to determine the important questions, when they feel that their success on the battlefields will not merely bring back the status quo, but will facilitate the extension of the revolution to advanced capitalist countries and result in a socialist world that will forever destroy the possibility of imperialist invasion.

With the adoption of this program, the struggle of the Soviet masses would indeed be transformed from what is still essentially a defensive fight, to maintain what they already have, into an aggressive offensive to gain what they want: workers' democracy inside the Soviet Union and the assistance and collaboration of workers' states in the rest of the world.

# FDR Repeats Wilson's 'Price Control' Fraud

## Presidential Schemes of World War I Proved Powerless to Halt Price Boom

By DON DORE

Roosevelt's proposals for the control of inflationary war prices repeat in all essential features the schemes and devices of the Wilson administration during World War I.

We can get an accurate pre-visualization of the results which Roosevelt's plans are bound to obtain by studying the effect of the similar attempts of Wilson to establish "price ceilings," "price controls" and "price fixing."

Using 1913 as the base of 100, the U. S. Department of Labor cost of living and wage index for the war years is as follows:

Year	Wage Rate	Cost of Living
1914	102	103
1915	102	105.1
1916	106	118.3
1917	112	142.1
1918	130	174.4

Thus, from 1914 through 1918, money wages rose an average of 30 per cent. The cost of living rose at the same time 74.4 per cent. The increase in the prices of food and clothing—two main items in the workers' budget—were even higher than this general figure. Food rose to 187 and clothing to 205.3 on the 1913 cost of living index.

By 1920, two years after the war but while the country was still governed by the war-time regulations, the cost of living index had soared to an all-time high of 208, a 108 per cent increase over the pre-war figure.

### WILSON'S IMPOTENT MOVES TO CONTROL PRICES

Throughout the war the Wilson administration sought to control and regulate price inflation. When the iron and steel price index reached 370 in July 1917—a purely speculative rise of 270 per cent in anticipation of war orders—there was such a tremendous public protest at this brazen profiteering that President Wilson was forced to warn the iron and

steel interests that those "who do not respond in the spirit of those who have gone to give their lives for us on bloody fields far away may safely be dealt with by opinion and the law, for the law must, of course, command these things." But the "law" didn't command these things. For months the steel, copper and munitions monopolies refused to accept the price ceilings which the War Industries Board attempted to establish.

When the big industries couldn't get the prices they wanted, they refused to produce or held up the deliveries of goods. The government had two alternatives: set up its own plants, or commandeer the industries and operate them under government control. It did neither.

The War Industries Board, which was composed of the biggest corporation men and their representatives selected by Wilson, would rather have lost the war than permit the capitalists to lose control of their plants and profits. Woodrow Wilson could address Congress and declare that: "Prices mean the same thing everywhere now. They mean the efficiency or inefficiency of the nation. They mean victory or defeat."

But this cut no ice with the corporations. They knew that any threat to commandeer plants—and the threat was



Milwaukee consumers used this float to agitate against the rising cost of living. It's OK—but the fight for the automatic adjustment of wages upward as the cost of living rises is the basic method for the worker-consumer to beat the bosses' game.

made on numerous occasions—was an idle one. Baruch, head of the War Industries Board, testifying before the Senate Munitions Committee after the war, was asked what he would have done if his "bluff" to commandeer plants had been called by the industries. He answered: "I would have been in a devil of a fix."

### FORMULA UNDER WHICH PRICES SOARED UPWARD

The War Industries Board had to "compromise" with the steel industry. That is, it virtually accepted the prices dictated by the steel trust. The steel trust, speaking through Judge Gary, head of United States Steel contrived the argument that the government should not fix the

prices at a point where "the many independents could not make a profit." This sudden solicitude for the small companies, which did not produce five per cent of steel, and iron, made possible profit—heavy prices.

Some of the smaller fly-by-night independents had operating costs, due to inefficiency and small scale production, anywhere from two to five times as great as the big corporations like Bethlehem and U. S. Steel. If prices were fixed on the basis of allowing a "reasonable" profit to the smallest so-called marginal producers, the big corporations could and did realize hundreds of per cent profits on their much lower costs of production.

The prices finally agreed upon for steel sheets were fixed at the price index of 270—170 per cent above the pre-war figure. For pig iron, it was 250, a 150 per cent rise over the pre-war figure. Thus the steel prices were "fixed" at a point relatively 100 per cent higher than the high point of all inflated commodity prices during the war.

After the war, it took 22 government accountants five years to check U. S. wartime income tax returns. This corporation's net profits, after all taxes were deducted, were \$544,994,879 in 1917. In 1918, after the prices were "fixed," the net profits were "only" \$500,806,116.

### SAME PROFIT FORMULA USED IN OTHER INDUSTRIES

With a few variations price "control" in the vital copper industry had the same results as in steel.

When the government tried to fix the price at 16 2/3 cents per pound for all copper purchases, the "patriotic" industry balked and demanded 25 cents. In September 1917, the government "compromised" and set the price at 23 1/2 cents. In June 1918, under the Price-Fixing Committee, it was jacked, up to 26 cents.

The argument used to get the government to fix this price was that the "small" companies, which operated at high production costs, had the right to a "reasonable" profit. The Federal Trade Commission estimated then that only 2.09 per cent of all the copper produced

in the country cost above 20 cents a pound to produce.

When the copper price negotiations were on between Baruch's Price-Fixing Committee and the big producers, Secretary of Navy Josephus Daniels sent a message to Baruch informing the latter that the Navy Dept. had secured figures showing that the average production cost of copper was 10 cents a pound. Even at the original price which the government had fixed, 16 2/3 cents, the copper industry was making an average profit of 66 2/3 per cent.

The food staples field is another example of how the Wilson administration "fixed" prices. A special Food Control Act was passed, and a separate Food Administration was established to administer the Act, which was to stabilize and control inflationary prices in food stuffs.

Prices were actually fixed for only three commodities, wheat, flour and sugar—all three of which had been first artificially inflated in price by speculators and corporation fabricators.

The index of the wholesale price of wheat in 1919—based on the government's "fixed" price—was 240. That is, an increase of 140 per cent over the pre-war price. Flour stood at 225; sugar, at 220. The index figure for all commodities—that is commodities which had not been fixed in price—was only 208.

### PRICE "FIXING" WAS USED TO KEEP DOWN WAGES

What was the purpose of all this ballyhoo about "price-fixing" that went on under Wilson, as it does under Roosevelt now?

The answer to that question was given by Felix Frankfurter, chief executive officer of the War Labor Policies Board, in a bulletin issued by him on July 25, 1918, which stated:

"Congress, through the taxes on excess profits, the War Industries Board through its price-fixing, the President, through the veto of \$2.40 wheat, have prepared the

way for standardization of wages."

The crux of the whole policy of the Wilson administration—just as it is with Roosevelt now—was to pave the way for freezing wages and preventing the workers from getting increased wages to meet the rocketing prices and profits.

In keeping down wages, Wilson was far more successful than he was in "price fixing" and in "taking the profits out of war."

Under Wilson, the average money wages of union men—and that meant then the highly skilled craft unionists of the AFL—rose on an average only 30 per cent during the war. Their real wages—the amount they could actually buy—fell 23 per cent. If wages of skilled labor were "standardized" to the extent of a 23 per cent actual wage cut, imagine what happened to the majority of workers in the then unorganized mass production industries!

Roosevelt is following Wilson in almost every single war policy. He will be able to control prices no more than did Wilson.

Until the time comes when the government is forced to take over the war industries and place them under the control of the workers, the workers must reject all phony schemes of price "control" which, in reality, simply set the basis for wage freezing.

The best immediate answer to increasing prices is increasing wages. The "price control" slogan of all organized labor must be:

For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising scale of prices!

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**The Negro Struggle**  
By ALBERT PARKER

**Bosses Responsible for Jim Crow**

Every thinking Negro worker who is conscious of the real cause of racial discrimination against Negroes in industry will agree with the recent charges of John T. Jones, director of Labor's Non-Partisan League and legislative representative of the CIO, who told a congressional sub-committee that "a handful of rich and powerful corporations" were guilty of such discrimination, and that:

"The use of one racial group against another, one national group against another, in order to beat down the economic standards of all, is an old story to the labor movement. It is the ancient maxim of divide and rule — divide and exploit."

It would of course be foolish for Jones, or any other representative of labor, to deny that some workers too are guilty of discrimination, and of falling into the trap laid by the bosses. But the important thing is: Who, or what, is responsible for Jim Crowism? The answer to that question gives us the answer to the responsibility for some white workers practicing racial prejudice:

The answer, as we know, is that the bosses, manufacturers, industrialists through their capitalist system, are responsible for Jim Crow, they are the ones who profit from it. When we wipe out their power to discriminate against Negroes, we will at the same time remove the possibility of white workers succumbing to their propaganda.

**The Bosses' Flimsy Alibi**

The same week that Jones spoke on the question, a representative of another organization appeared before another congressional sub-committee, and spoke on the same question.

He was Noel Sargent, secretary of the National Association of Manufacturers. Sargent spent some time declaring how sorry he and his organization were that discrimination should exist, and claiming that the N.A.M. was doing its share in eliminating discrimination. To prove this point, Sargent referred to advice given by the N.A.M. to its members that there should be no "arbitrary prejudices in employment," and declarations by the officers of the N.A.M. that "manufacturers should employ Negroes wherever, and whenever possible, in keeping with their general ability and their 'acceptability' to white fellow-workers."

What is meant by the dropping of "arbitrary" prejudices? Only this, that the bosses should not practice prejudice without good reason.

The N.A.M. is not really opposed to Jim Crowism; all it opposes is overdoing it; what it opposes is making its prejudices too obvious and flagrant; what it opposes are actions which will make it clear to the Negroes that the bosses are responsible; what it opposes are cases of prejudice where the bosses cannot make it appear that the white workers are responsible for Negroes being denied employment.

The N.A.M. continues that "wherever employees themselves have not directly or indirectly put up bars against the hiring of persons because of race, color or creed" manufacturers generally are ready to employ them.

In other words, the N.A.M., if you would believe it, is ready to hire Negroes, but it doesn't because of the white workers who put bars in the way.

It is strange that the N.A.M. is not so eager to comply with the wishes of its workers in other respects. For example, recognition of the right of workers to organize, higher wages, shorter hours, etc. When it comes to these questions, the bosses fight the workers 24 hours a day, and no time off on Sundays. But when it comes to the alleged racial prejudices of the workers, the N.A.M. suddenly becomes very cooperative and gives in to every request and wish, real and fancied, of the workers.

It does not take a great thinker to see through the game of the N.A.M., and to understand that the bosses, who profit from Jim Crowism by dividing and ruling, prefer to place the responsibility for their maneuvers on the white workers, most of whom as children went to school alongside of Negro children and never entertained a single Jim Crow thought until it was introduced to them by the white supremacy propaganda of capitalism.

**Boss Tells Truth About Roosevelt**

At the same time that Sargent tried to present the question in an anti-labor light, he could not refrain from taking a crack at the government for its pious statements urging industry to hire Negroes.

Claiming that the government "has sought to concentrate the heat engendered in this issue on industry," Sargent stated: "The fact is that both the Government as well as organized labor might well put their own houses in order." He then went on to enumerate the different instances where the government itself was practicing Jim Crowism in the armed forces and governmental departments.

Sargent was paying Roosevelt back for daring to even hint that the employers were responsible. In effect, he said, what right has Roosevelt to preach to us when he doesn't practice his own preaching?

He made a good arguing point, but of course it wasn't made in the interests of the Negro people. It was simply made to remind Roosevelt to stay in his own place, and not even pretend to interfere with industry's handling of the problem. He made it to emphasize the ridiculousness of Roosevelt's hypocritical position, something which Roosevelt has already done for himself in his executive order urging an end to discrimination, but naming no penalty for disregard of his order.

# Churchill Fought the USSR

## The Chief Advocate of Intervention Has Always Hated Soviets

By PHILIP BLAKE

From an imperialist warmonger before the Nazi-Soviet war broke out Winston Churchill has, so far as the Stalinists are concerned, changed into a guardian of progress and democracy, a fighter against freedom, and a friend of the Soviet Union. For them the leopard has changed all his spots. And in the name of aid to the Soviet Union, the Stalinists now call for all aid to Britain and its prime minister, Churchill.

But Churchill has not changed his line. He not only does not claim any change in his views toward the Soviet Union, but he insists he hasn't changed. In his speech after the Nazis attacked the Soviet Union, he declared:

"The Nazi regime is indistinguishable from the worst features of Communism... No one has been a more consistent opponent of communism than I have for the last 25 years. I will unsay no words that I've spoken about it."

Of course he went on to explain that because of the critical position now occupied by the British Empire, it must be ready to welcome war against Germany even by the Soviet Union. But by his declaration that he would "unsay no words" about it, he made clear that his basic attitude toward the Soviet Union remains unchanged, and that whenever he can he will follow the course consistent with that attitude.

To fully understand the treachery and stupidity of the Stalinists in their call for all-out aid to Churchill, one has only to review the "words" and deeds that Churchill refuses to unsay.

**CHURCHILL'S FIGHT AGAINST THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION**

From the beginning Churchill took the most ruling class-conscious stand against the revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky. He realized that world imperialism would have been a million times better off if Czarism had not been overthrown and the train of events begun which culminated in the overthrow of capitalism. For him, Russia without the Czar became "Russia forlorn."

"Just when the worst (of the war) was over," he mourned,

"when victory was in sight, when the fruits of measureless sacrifice were at hand, the old Russia had been dragged down, and in her place there ruled 'the nameless beast' so long foretold in Russian legend. Thus the Russian people were deprived of Victory, Honour, Freedom, Peace and Bread. Thus there was no Russia in the Councils of the Allies — only an abyss which still continues in human affairs." ("The World Crisis, 1918-28").

There is reason to believe that even at the end of 1917, while Britain was still locked in battle with Germany, Churchill considered, the possibility of a peace at the expense of the revolution which threatened all imperialism.

At any rate, looking back, he evidently believed that there was a possibility of such a peace. In "The World Crisis, 1916-18," he writes:

"The immense conquests which Germany had made in Russia, and the hatred and scorn with which the Bolsheviks were regarded by the Allies, might well have made it possible for Germany to make territorial concessions to France, and to offer Britain the complete restoration of Belgium. The desertion by Russia of the Allied cause, and the consequent elimination of all Russian claims created a similar easement in negotiations with both Austria and Turkey."

It is not known to this day whether secret negotiations based on this idea actually took place.

late in 1917, although some historians suspect it, but at any rate they did not go through. Perhaps the German militarists, faced with an apparently helpless Soviet Union, felt it could have that and victory over the Allies as well.

**THE "LITTLE" AND "BIG" SCHOOLS OF INTERVENTION**

The Bolsheviks sought first a general peace and, when the Allies refused it, were forced to negotiate a separate peace with Germany. When Germany, after taking rich sections of Russia, turned its almost full attention to the western front, two schools of thought on the question of the Soviet Union arose among the Allied powers: Little Intervention, and Big Intervention.

Advocates of the "Little" intervention were interested primarily in creating an eastern front to engage the attentions of the Germans, and draw forces away from the western front. They were willing to work with anyone in Russia who would help in this task.

The "Big" interventionists were interested in two things: the overthrow of Bolshevism and the re-creation of the eastern front. It was hard from their actions to tell which aim they considered most important.

Winston Churchill became known as the leading and most consistent advocate of the "Big" intervention. It was his maneuvering, and his pressure, which resulted in the adoption of that policy by all the Allied powers to one degree or another.

Of course, he was not at that time Prime Minister, and he did not have full power to affect the course of events. In every way that he could, however, he did. It was not his fault that the Soviet Union was not overthrown in its early years, and he, above all others, was responsible for the length of the civil war period.

**CHURCHILL'S ROLE DURING CIVIL WAR, 1918-1921**

After "precious months," as Churchill complains, has been wasted, the Allies began, ostensibly in the name of the war against Germany, to land troops on Russian soil, seizing strategic sea ports and beginning to occupy ever wider territory. The Bolsheviks were too occupied with other more immediate dangers to be able to do much about it.

And behind these spreading Allied lines, in every case, new "governments" sprang up, armies were equipped, and counter-revolutionary forces organized. As Churchill records it:

"In the ups and downs of civil war the Russian Volunteer Army widely extended the limits of its authority during the latter part of 1918... While all else was at first disputed and confused with a sense of association with a great world outside was a sure foundation upon which the authority of the counter-revolutionary leaders could rest, and this association

**Limited Monarch**



Tom Girdler, head of the Republic Steel Corporation at whose Chicago plant occurred the bloody Memorial Day Massacre during the Little Steel Strike of 1937, has at last been brought to his knees. The great Bethlehem Steel strikes and the relentless organizational drive of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (CIO) has forced him to agree to recognize the union and sign a union contract.

was soon to take a practical form."

When the Germans annexed sections of the Soviet Union, the counter-revolutionary groups in Russian border states, Poland, and the Ukraine, rushed to welcome them. Churchill saw nothing wrong in that:

"Everything is relative. Everyone remembers (and tries to forget) the German occupation of Belgium. Here in the Ukraine these same Germans came as deliverers and were spontaneously recognized as such, not only by the general population, but by those patriotic elements most hostile to the invaders of Russia. A dose of Communism induces a desire in any population to welcome any other form — even the harshest — of civilized authority. With the arrival of the German 'steel helmets' life again became bearable. One had only to submit, keep quiet, and obey: thereafter everything was smooth and efficient. Better the iron heel of the foreign soldier than unresting persecution by a priesthood of blackguards and fanatics."

(That means that Churchill would today prefer a Nazi victory to a Workers' Government in England.)

And when Germany was defeated, these "patriotic" elements turned to the victorious imperialists. "And when in the end all resistance fell in one stupendous crash, it was to the triumphant western allies that all these peoples and embryo governments rallied with joy and conviction." For them, anything but a Workers' Government in Russia.

**WAR AGAINST USSR AFTER THE ARMISTICE**

With the defeat of Germany, Churchill admits, "Every argument which had led to intervention had disappeared." It was under these conditions in January, 1919, that Churchill became Secretary of State for War. In this post he did his best to complete what he called "the unfinished task" of the war.

Prime Minister Lloyd George, Churchill's superior, believed that "the Bolshevik movement is as dangerous to civilization as Ger-

man militarism." But he was afraid that if he sent a large armed interventionary force, "the armies would mutiny." "If a military enterprise were started against the Bolsheviks, that would make England Bolshevik, and there would be a Soviet in London."

There were threatening rumbles from Ireland, Gibraltar, Malta, India. The head of the Imperial General Staff, Sir Henry Wilson, who also favored intervention if possible, was forced to state:

"We are sitting on top of a mine which may go up any minute." And a few days later: "...Even now we dare not give an unpopular order to the troops, and discipline was a thing of the past..."

The British trade union movement announced opposition to intervention. Strikes broke out in English cities. Lloyd George knew that "The Canadian soldiers would not agree to stay and fight against the Russians. Similar troubles had also occurred among the other Allied troops..." As Clemenceau put it, "the Allies were in need of a speedy solution... their populations would stand no more."

Thus when Churchill entered the War Office, he was to a considerable degree restrained by Lloyd George and had to follow out his operations within the general sphere of the perspectives of his chief. That meant little chance of a British army of occupation. The best he could hope and work for was full and effective aid to the Russian counter-revolution. To this task Churchill applied himself with all his energy. (A second article on Churchill will appear next week.)

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**Pacifists Seek to 'Fight' War With a Petition**

Last week four of the outstanding pacifist outfits got together, set up the "Citizens Peace Mandate Committee," and launched another of their many campaigns.

The chairman of the committee is Dr. John Haynes Holmes, pastor of the Community Church of New York; the secretary is Helen Alfred; and the members are J. N. Sayre and A. J. Muste for the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Oswald Garrison Villard and Mary Hillyer for the Keep America Out of War Congress, F. J. Libby and Florence B. Boeckel for the National Council for the Prevention of War, and Hannah Hull and Dorothy Detzer for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Realizing that prayer alone is not effective in the fight against war, these ladies and gentlemen have decided to resort to a petition.

It is entitled "Citizens Petition for an American Peace Offensive." People are urged to sign the petition and return it to the Committee which will then carry through its offensive by giving them to the assistant of the 3rd administrative secretary of the president.

The petition reads: "WHEREAS, As citizens of the United States of America, we are opposed to American entrance into the present wars, and "WHEREAS, As human beings, we believe that everything possible should be done to stop the destruction of human values and the slaughter of men, women and children, which these wars entail,

"THEREFORE, We urge the President of the United States to use the influence which he possesses as the elected representative of the American people for the cessation of hostilities and the achievement of a just peace."

Feeling that the contents of the petition may not sufficiently explain the need for such action as the committee proposes, "Five Reasons For Peace Offensive Now" are printed on the side of the petition.

The fifth of these reasons is evidently the most important: "A nationwide demand by American citizens for peace will insure action by the President to induce warring nations to cease fighting."

**They Spread Harmful Illusions**

The nation-wide dissemination of such pacifist illusions as motivate these people will only confuse and disorient the workers and disarm them rather than aid them in the genuine struggle against war.

The first of these illusions is that Roosevelt can help "in the achievement of a just peace."

Roosevelt, who is straining every energy to drive the American people into the war for the defense of Morgan-Rockefeller interests in Europe, Asia and South America, who is harnessing the whole economy and all the available manpower in the country to that drive, and who is ready to frame up and suppress every person and movement that stands in his way — this man, they say, can bring about "a just peace."

Such confusion can redound to Roosevelt's advantage only. For if Roosevelt is capable of achieving a just peace, why isn't he capable of carrying on a just war?

We Trotskyists maintain that Roosevelt is an imperialist and therefore bound to carry out imperialist policies in war and in peace, and that he is incapable of seeking anything but an imperialist, that is, an unjust, peace. Pacifists who deny this can have no method of disproving what Roosevelt contends: that the war he is entering is a just war. And they don't have it. That is why so many of the professional pacifists of peacetime become warmongers after the declaration of war.

Their second illusion is that it is possible — by petitions of all things! — to dissuade Roosevelt from his war course.

Roosevelt, who is spending countless billions of dollars to prepare for armed entry into the war, who is staking the whole future of American imperialism on the outcome of the war, who knows that the whole economic structure of capitalism would be shaken to its roots if a change to peace-time economy were now undertaken — this man, they say, can be induced to "call it off" now and try to get the other imperialists to do the same... if only enough petitions are signed.

**Real Anti-War Fight Is Anti-Capitalist**

The third illusion they spread is that it is possible to conduct the fight against war as something separate and apart from the fight against the breeder of war, capitalism.

Fight against war, they say, but continue to let the bosses control the government, the armed forces and the economic power. And how they can work their will on the bosses whom they have left with all power in every sphere, they don't say.

The best thing about the pacifists is that most workers, who have to learn lessons in the hard school of the class struggle, strikes and picket-lines — don't pay any attention to their confusionist drivel.

**Punishing Generals...**

While public attention was focused on the Yoo-hoo Gen. (von) Lear's punishment of troops, another army man was being disciplined in Washington, D. C.

General R. C. Marshall Confessed to the General Staff that he had been taking bribes from private contractors in return for routing army orders their way. \$31,816 was his most recent take.

Did the General face a court-martial with sabers on the table? No.

Did the General march 20 miles in the broiling sun? No.

With permission of his superiors the General quietly resigned from the army and returned home to live modestly on his "earnings."

# Army Incites Draftees Against Trade Unions

By A DRAFTEE

Sometime ago a General spoke over the radio. He spoke against the workers on strike in defense industries while the soldiers were willingly working for \$21-\$30 a month. This, of course, isn't true; the draftees never voted on or bargained for their salary. On the contrary they were cursed with it. Nevertheless the General's speech did have an effect on the draftees.

In the same way that unskilled workers get angry when the skilled workers go out on strike demanding higher wages without demanding a raise in the pay of the unskilled, so also does the soldier get angry when

he sees workers going on strike for a raise and seemingly not giving a damn about the plight of the soldier who continues to get \$21 or \$30 per month. The government is trying to utilize this situation to create a cleavage between the soldier and civilian worker.

Just as there came a time when the trade union movement found itself at a standstill and could not advance without the organizing of the unorganized (formation and growth of the CIO), so also the time is near when labor cannot advance without aiding the soldiers.

I've heard this from many privates (previously workers): "They're complaining about their \$30 a week while we get \$21 or \$30 per month."

It is not a matter of the trade unions sympathizing with the plight of the soldier but the unions will either actually help him or else the government will try to utilize him as a strikebreaking agency.

**DRAFTEES ANTI-WAR BUT LIKELY TO CHANGE**

The sentiments of the majority of soldiers is anti-war. But their anti-war outlook is today akin to that of Wheeler. "Why should we be a sucker for England," they say. This sort of stuff will never stand the test of war.

I asked one soldier what he would do if England were knocked out of the war the way France was and then the U.S. declared war on Germany. He said: "Then it would be all right for we would be fighting against Germany for ourselves, not for England."

All Roosevelt has to do is convince them of the truth (the main

struggle in this war is between U. S. and Germany) and much of this so-called opposition will crumble away. Only a firm working class outlook can be depended upon to remain anti-war.

**SOME SEEK ESCAPE AT ANY PRICE**

Meanwhile it is most tragic to watch the lengths to which individualistic-minded fellows will go to get away from the army. One guy chopped off his hand hoping for a medical discharge and finished up in Leavenworth (7 year term).

Another got married a year ago. After listening to Roosevelt's last speech he said he would be lucky if he went to sleep and never woke. He wouldn't have to worry anymore. I would not be the least bit surprised if he committed suicide. This is not the mental attitude of one or two individuals but is the attitude of a large percentage of the draftees.

The petty-bourgeois elements find ways and means to escape the drudgery. One fellow we know is here. Back home instead of looking for a job in a factory he stayed home and studied for a civil service exam. Well, he finally made it. Here, by impressing a captain he got a clerk's job. Have we problems? War? Fascism? Unemployment? He solved 'em all by becoming a pencil pusher.

Another petty-bourgeois is a lawyer in the draft. He's for the lend-lease bill, for using convoys, for war against Germany.

Sounds like a militant guy ready to risk his life to fight Hitler. He got himself a job as a clerk. He says he wants to fight against Hitler but there is still a law of self-preservation.



# THE MILITANT

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To defend the USSR as the main  
fortress of the world proletariat,  
against all assaults of world imperial-  
ism and of internal counter-revolution,  
is the most important duty of every  
class conscious worker.

—LEON TROTSKY

## JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
2. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
3. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.
4. A peoples' referendum on any and all wars.
5. Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.
6. For a rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.
7. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
9. A Workers' and Farmers' Government.

## The CIO Wins Again

For the second time within a month the CIO has succeeded in pushing enough Congressmen into line to defeat bills giving the President authority to "seize" struck plants and open them with troops. On July 6 representatives of every CIO union gathered in Washington to fight this and other anti-labor bills and their visits to Congressmen— which polltax Congressman Howard Smith of Virginia called "goon squad" visits—secured enough votes to defeat the Connally "plant seizure" proposal in the House of Representatives. A new version of the same proposal, which had been passed by the Senate, came before the House last week, and this one too was defeated, thanks to the activity of the CIO and Labor's Non-Partisan League.

The day before this second version was to be voted on in the House, CIO President Philip Murray publicly denounced it and called on all CIO unions to exert their influence against it.

In condemning the "plant seizure" measure, Murray correctly charged that "the bill is not intended to exercise any compulsion against management, but only against labor," and that "it impairs labor's basic right to strike by permitting occupation of plants and the use of the army and the navy to break strikes as the President may designate."

The prompt action of Murray, in pointing out the dangers to labor in this bill and in directing the opposition of the powerful CIO against it, is to be commended. The time to fight anti-labor legislation and government strikebreaking is not after they are in effect, but the instant such measures are first proposed.

It is reasonable to believe that had the CIO national leadership taken such a prompt and firm position at the time when Roosevelt announced he intended to use army troops against the North American Aviation Corporation strikers, Roosevelt would never have dared to carry through that strikebreaking act.

The recent actions of the CIO leadership against the threat of government strikebreaking have served to recover much of the ground lost after the demoralizing experience of the silence of the CIO leadership during the days that the North American Aviation strike was being broken up the Army.

\* \* \*

The Connally and May "plant seizure" pro-

posals should not be confused with the Property Requisitioning Bill, which passed the House on Tuesday. The crux of the "plant seizure" formula was (1) authorizing use of the army to seize plants which are on strike and (2) immediate return of the plants to their private owners when the strike is smashed. These provisions are not in the Property Requisitioning Bill, which appears simply to provide ways and means for government purchase of machinery from reluctant owners. The capitalist press, anxious to cover up the fact that the CIO has twice defeated the "plant seizure" proposal in the House, is calling the Property Requisitioning Bill by the same title.

## Stalinism On Aug. 4th

August 4th, the 27th anniversary of the outbreak of World War I, was a date of the greatest significance to the labor movement, especially since it came in the midst of World War II.

Lenin and Trotsky taught us always to remember and mark this date, and to explain what it meant to the workers.

August 4th symbolizes the fact that capitalism has reached such a stage in its decay that it can continue its rule only by plunging the masses into wide-spread slaughters to determine which set of monopoly capitalists should exploit the world.

August 4, 1914 taught us that the "socialists" who practice class-collaboration with the bosses in peacetime, continue that class-collaboration and support the war in wartime.

August 4th taught us that the decay of capitalism and the degeneration of the pro-war workers' parties made necessary the formation of a new revolutionary workers' party to lead the struggle for the abolition of imperialism and its wars.

These lessons of August 4th were understood best of all by the Bolsheviks in Russia. Their understanding of these lessons enabled them to overthrow capitalism in that country, to establish the Soviet Union, to speed the end of the war and form the Communist International.

These lessons of August 4th became the keystone of the tradition of the Communist International. All who joined the revolutionary movement were schooled in this tradition and thus prepared the better to fight against imperialism and its lackeys in the labor movement.

Last week much of the little space we have in THE MILITANT was devoted to the 27th anniversary of August 4th, to the lessons that Lenin and Trotsky taught us.

The stories we printed were not mere ritualistic commemorations of a by-gone day. They were applications of the great lessons of August 4th to the struggles of today. We cited the lessons of World War I in order to lead the workers of today along the path of Lenin and Trotsky, Liebknecht, Luxemburg and Debs.

Not a special article, not a story, not an editorial, not even a passing reference to August 4 and its traditions appeared in the August 4 issue of the *Daily Worker*, central organ of the Communist Party.

For the Stalinist leadership the whole tradition of Bolshevism is wiped out, the rich lessons of the anti-war fight are dropped overboard.

The silence of the *Daily Worker* on August 4 is more than an index of the degeneration of Stalinism. It is a necessary part of its political line.

For what can the Stalinists, who support the imperialist war today, say about Lenin's fight against the "socialist" warmongers?

## News From The Army

There are 350 soldiers who are prisoners in the one guardhouse in Fort Knox, Kentucky. This figure is known only because of the fact that an Associated Press dispatch reported it on Sunday in the course of describing the circumstances under which one of the prisoners, during what was described as a "guardhouse riot" of the 350, was shot and killed by military police.

One immediately wonders whether this figure is typical. If it is, it means that there are tens of thousands of soldiers in the guardhouses of the army training camps. Why? What offenses are they charged with? How many of them are there because they wrote to Congressmen opposing extension of the service term of draftees? We do not know. The Army hierarchy keeps these matters secret. Only the shooting of one of these soldiers by military police brought out the fact of the number in the particular guardhouse where he died.

This is the kind of democracy we have now—before formal entry into the war. And after?...

## Not for American Public

General Peyton C. March, Chief of Staff of the American Army during World War I, in his book, "The Nation at War," reveals:

"Open mutinies occurred in sixteen French army corps, involving some of the finest troops in France. Divisions went 'Soviet,' electing 'Soldier Councils,' to lead them. Whole regiments abandoned their posts and set out for Paris to demand that peace be negotiated. One of the most demoralizing incidents which occurred happened in a Russian division of about fifteen thousand men which had been sent around to France via Archangel to fight with the French. This command went openly Soviet and was not overcome until the French turned their artillery on them and shot down their own comrades. I saw survivors of this shocking episode when I served in France, disarmed and under guard in rear of the French lines... None of this was allowed to become known to people of America. But I knew, and so did (Secretary of War) Baker."

# Revolts Against Nazis Spreading Over Europe

Growing Unrest in Occupied Lands Spells Hitler's Doom; But British Propaganda Aids Nazis in Putting It Down

Reports last week from many of the territories occupied by the Nazis in Europe indicate, even when obvious propaganda is discounted, that there are many genuine movements underway against the Nazi machine of oppression.

The city of Belgrade has been fined heavily, to the extent of 10 million dinars, as punishment for the "increasing sabotage and terrorist activities". The seriousness of these activities was indicated by Berlin's statement that "despite repeated German warnings there continue to be serious excesses of terrorist and destructive activities."

The War Minister in Bulgaria has had to draft a bill calling for drastic punishment of political propaganda within the army.

The Reich Commissioner in Norway was empowered this week to declare a state of emergency, backed by authorization for sentences of death or imprisonment, "to preserve public order, security and economic life in Norway."

The *New York Times* of August 4 carries stories from Istanbul, Turkey, telling of "mutterings of discontent and reports of disturbances throughout German-dominated Eastern and Central Europe... The unrest is said to be particularly acute in Rumania... Serbian resistance is being steadily maintained against the Germans in Yugoslavia, despite fierce reprisals..."

There are also accounts of destruction by Serbian peasants of grain harvests, and "mass revolts in Central Serbia, Herzegovina and Montenegro led by Serbian guerrillas."

And, most important of all, accounts of unrest in Germany itself have begun to appear! "Opposition circles" have appeared in Germany proper, and the Nazi authorities have had to take measures against them. Even Nazis are being seized as "pessimists," and women have been held by the police and "admonished for spreading false rumors."

It has been the practice of Hitler ever since the first outbreaks against the Nazis in the occupied countries last year, Holland for example, to attribute them to the activities of the British and other agents of belligerent nations.

Hitler has followed this policy deliberately because it is important for his purposes to establish in the minds of the German workers and soldiers the idea that these outbreaks are merely part of the Allied struggle to impose

a second Versailles Treaty on Germany.

The German soldiers and workers want to avoid a second defeat at the hands of imperialists who will proceed to crush, starve and maltreat the German people, as they did after World War I.

At all costs, therefore, Nazi propaganda for home consumption tries to conceal the fact that there are genuine movements of the masses against Nazi oppression that are completely independent of the British war operations.

For nothing could be more demoralizing to the German soldiers than the knowledge that, even in the event of German victory, they will be faced with mutinous, bitter, hostile populations which, independent of all connection with the imperialists, will from all sides continue to oppose, harass and attack the German overlords at every opportunity.

That is why the Nazis label all these movements in the conquered countries as "activities and provocations of British agents" or, in the countries closer to the Soviet Union, as "communist inspired."

## BRITISH PROPAGANDA COMES TO HITLER'S AID

In this connection, a story in the August 4th issue of the *New York Times* exemplifies the utter stupidity of British propaganda about the wave of unrest sweeping Nazi-held countries:

"The British Broadcasting Corporation gave Britain's 'V' campaign against Germany a novel twist yesterday by concluding a news bulletin with a tribute to 'heroes of the V Army' in Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium and Yugoslavia... And now to end this bulletin, the British announcer said, 'is news of some heroes of the European V Army. The brave deeds of these men... are inscribed here in London in the V Roll of Honor.'"

An example of this news follows:

"Heroes in Holland: For the

disorganization carried out in this sector this week by E. J. and his comrades, for the clever moves by which M. C. and his group a few days ago upset a certain administrative plan of the Nazis, and the skill with which those listed in the V Roll as 248, 249, 253 and 307 successfully bamboozled the administrators; for these acts the V Army expresses its special commendation" etc.

This kind of British propaganda plays right into the hands of Goebbels and the Nazi propagandists. They will print it in full, to show that the spreading protests are merely part of the British military fight to conquer Germany, and they will use the British boasts to justify the bloodiest repressions against the population of the occupied countries, most of whom have no connection with Britain at all, and who are driven to action solely by their hatred of fascist oppression.

## ONLY REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT CAN SMASH HITLERISM

The German masses must be inspired with the idea that Hitler can be overthrown by the masses of Europe without a British victory that would humiliate the German people. The Nazis must be demoralized by the certainty that even if they win the war they will still have to face great mass movements of the peoples in the occupied countries. The masses in the occupied countries must be organized for the overthrow of all imperialist invaders. These necessary tasks can only be achieved by a movement that will be completely independent of the British or any other imperialist powers.

The Stalinists, subordinating the movement of the masses to the British war machine, make more difficult the overthrow of Hitlerism and the successful defense of the Soviet Union.

Only the revolutionary working class movement, completely independent of Stalinist ties, can mobilize the masses of Europe for the successful struggle against Nazism. That is the movement which we Trotskyists are building.

# Annapolis Open To All With Money And Pull

By EUGENE VARLIN

The United States Naval Academy at Annapolis was founded in 1845 and, from that time to the present, America's navy has been in the hands of the lord high admirals drawn from its ranks.

The bulk of the appointments to Annapolis are controlled by the members of Congress, each of whom is allowed four appointees in the Naval Academy annually.

"An appointment to the Naval Academy," wrote Kendall Banning in his "Annapolis Today," "is classified as a 'political plum'. The basis on which a Congressman makes his selection

is a purely personal matter with him. His choice of a principal appointee and of his first, second, and third alternates may be determined on purely personal grounds, on the basis of political preferment, or by competitive examinations conducted by any agency or groups designated by the Congressman... The results of the competitive examinations are submitted to the Congressman for such use as he may care to make of them..."

The President makes fifteen appointments-at-large, selected from the sons of officers or men in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps and four from the District of Columbia. These are selected on the basis of a competitive examination, so constructed as to favor those fortunate enough to have procured a higher education.

One hundred other appointments are made annually from the enlisted men of the Regular Navy and Marine Corps. These must be between 16 and 20 years old, have had one year of service, and have been through at least two years of high school. To prepare for the competitive examination, applicants go to the Naval Academy Preparatory Class for six months.

If these applicants come from poor families and have been sending money home, then the Preparatory Class is not the best thing in the world for them. While they attend it, the applicants get only a small part of their pay in cash;

the remainder is accredited to a savings account. Enlisted men who wish to be appointed to Annapolis should not only come from moderate well-off families; it might also be advisable for them to get in the good graces of their commanding officers.

As the government publication, "Regulations governing admission of candidates into the Naval Academy" puts it: "Enlisted men who fulfill the requirements as to age and length of service should make application to their commanding officer for examination. It is not necessary to be recommended by anyone else."

Forty appointments are made yearly by the President from the sons of officers, soldiers, sailors and marines who died in the World War. Half of the forty appointments are made from the sons of officers, half from the sons of warrant officers, soldiers, sailors, and marines.

Twenty appointees are selected every year from "honor graduates" of educational institutions which the War Department has designated as "Honor Schools" and from the members of the Naval Reserve Officers' Training Corps. This last has been set up in six colleges.

Thus, all the methods used to pick students for Annapolis lead to an overwhelming majority of boys from bourgeois families.

The treatment of Negroes at Annapolis is perhaps the most crush-

ing proof of its completely bourgeois character. "No Negroes have graduated from the United States Naval Academy," states the *Negro Year Book*. Three entered during the Reconstruction period after the Civil War; one was appointed by Negro Congressman Mitchell in the Spring of 1936. All four were removed on one pretext or another.

Annapolis discipline is rigorous indeed. Several pages of "crimes" subject to one penalty or another are listed alphabetically in the "Rules and Regulations" of the United States Naval Academy.

"Tasks that seem pointless to him, restrictions that are irksome," while not very likely to develop the midshipman's intelligence, "are all part of the system of training and of discipline, they all aim to inculcate the cardinal virtue of obedience..." But the midshipman does not suffer in vain! "If he is philosophical," writes Kendall Banning, unofficial spokesman for the Academy, "he may find at least a crumb of comfort in the knowledge... that as he rises in the naval hierarchy he will impose the same system of training and of discipline upon his subordinates."

The midshipmen, in short, are slaves for a few years that they may be capable slave-drivers for the rest of their lives.

Instruction in the amenities plays its part in the Annapolis curriculum — with good reason: "Everywhere he (the naval officer) goes," writes Banning, "he is thrown into contact with the best people throughout the world — with officers of our own and of foreign navies, with diplomats, statesmen, men in official positions, leaders in society, representatives of the arts, the tycoons of industry."

# Where We Stand

By Albert Goldman

## Why Have We Now Been Indicted?

Capitalist democracy works in a mysterious way its wonders to perform.

Take the case of the Minnesota indictment charging some of our party members and some trade union leaders and activists with conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence. What people were responsible for the indictment and why were they obtained? To answer these questions means to get a glimpse into the behind-the-scenes workings of our democratic process.

We shall leave out of consideration the question of the violation of the rights of free press and free speech guaranteed to the inhabitants of this country by the Constitution of the United States. These rights are directly involved in the Minnesota indictment because it was obtained under Federal and not under State laws. The first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States contain all the guarantees for free press, free assembly etc. And these amendments are a restriction on the Federal Government and not on the various State legislatures.

The prosecution may claim, however, that the question of the constitutionality of the statute under which we are indicted is not a question for the Attorney General's office to decide. The Department of Justice is here to enforce the laws and let the Courts pass on the questions of this constitutionality. But any attempt to pass the buck in this fashion can hardly succeed in this case. The "seditious conspiracy" act, which is the basis of the first count in the indictment, is as old as the Civil War. Our party in its present form was organized more than three years ago, the Trotskyist movement more than twelve years ago. Why did not the Department invested with the great duty of enforcing the sacred statutes take action before? What was the reason for the long delay? There is a rumor that the FBI is a very efficient organization so that it could hardly be that the long delay is to be explained by the inefficiency of that governmental agency.

Even if we exclude the first count and limit ourselves to the second count of the indictment, based on the Smith Act which makes it a crime to advocate the violent overthrow of the government, the reputation of the Department of Justice for efficiency would hardly stand up. For the Smith Act was passed more than a year ago and it should not take long even for FBI agents to read the Declaration of Principles which our party adopted in January 1938 and suspended in 1940.

## Daniel J. Tobin Set the Wheels Going

The wherefore of the indictment at this time would indeed be a puzzling problem were one to base himself on the idea that the government functions in a democratic manner observing and enforcing all the laws equally and impartially. However, put Daniel J. Tobin, President of the International Teamsters, upon the scene and the democratic process by which the indictment was obtained becomes exceedingly clear. Now Tobin is only one citizen. Like every other citizen he has only one vote on election day. If he suffers injury at the hands of some person or persons he has the right openly to file charges and present his evidence before the prosecutor in the first instance and before the court and jury in the second instance.

That Tobin has suffered injury at the hands of the leaders of Local 544-CIO is beyond any question of a doubt. They disregarded his desires; they flaunted his decisions; they disobeyed his commands. Instead of graciously giving up the posts to which they were elected and permitting Tobin to rule over the truck drivers as he wished and more particularly to pocket the per-capita from over five thousand union men, the 544 leaders decided to defend their democratic rights and the democratic rights of all the union men. It must be admitted that Tobin suffered grievous injury and if that were the charge in the indictment I must confess that the prisoners at the bar would be compelled to plead guilty.

But this is exactly where capitalist democracy steps in and makes it unnecessary for Tobin to come to court with his just grievances in an open and frank manner. Since Tobin understands (if he does not, his lawyers do) that the kind of injury which he suffered cannot be taken cognizance of by the majesty of the law, he must find some other way to utilize the law to punish his enemies and to get justice for himself.

So Tobin, who is eager to help fight for democracy in far-off Germany, runs to his friend Roosevelt, the leader of the fight for democracy in far-off Germany. The chief thereupon gives his orders to the Department of Justice and, unlike the leaders of 544 who believe in disobeying Tobin's orders, the Department of Justice, also fighting for democracy for Hitler's subjects, obeys Roosevelt's orders and the result is—the indictment.

## The Hypocrisy of Capitalist Democracy

Tobin's name is not on the indictment; Roosevelt's name is not on the indictment. Only the names of the prosecutors, who obey orders and thus differ from the leaders of Local 544, appear on the indictment. So we have a private citizen by the name of Daniel J. Tobin, who votes only once on election day, going to Roosevelt, who enforces all laws impartially, as should be the case in a land where democracy reigns supreme, and the result is an indictment against twenty-nine people who are not personal friends of Roosevelt and who cannot influence him in any way.

Thus does capitalist democracy work. The constitutions, the laws, guarantee equality and justice. They reveal nothing of the democratic process as it actually functions behind the scenes. They reveal nothing of the secret conferences which the leaders of Congress have with the leaders of industry. Laws are passed ostensibly after a full discussion and by the members of the legislatures. Indictments are obtained ostensibly after an impartial analysis of all the evidence. Capitalist democracy covers itself up with sanctimonious formalities.

But it is better than fascism. Yes, we are compelled to admit that much. But it is not better than workers' democracy and above all, under conditions of capitalist decay, it cannot and will not last. They who do not fight for the establishment of workers' democracy are only helping place a fascist noose around their necks.